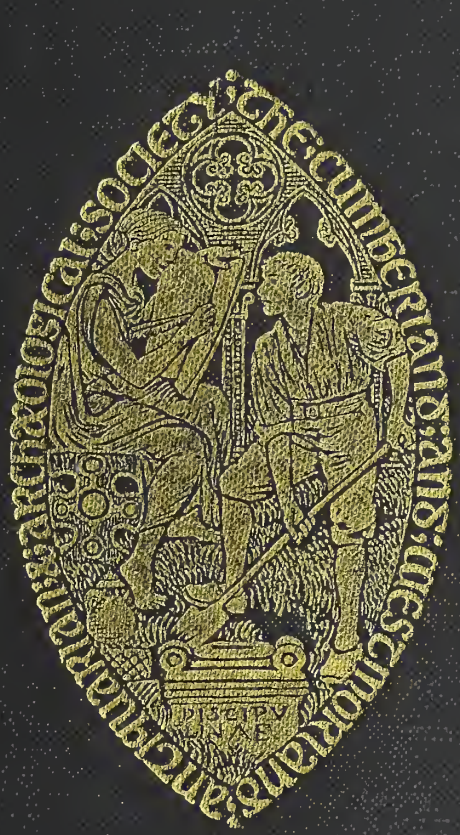
THE CUMBERLAND AND WESTMORLAND ANTIQUARIAN AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY

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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

CUMBERLAND & WESTMORLAND ANTIQUARIAN & ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

(FOUNDED 1866).

VOLUME XVII.—NEW SERIES.

EDITOR:
W. G. COLLINGWOOD, M.A., F.S.A.

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The Editor desires to express his thanks to Mrs. Hesketh Hodgson for the compilation of the Index.

The change in the colour of the binding, and the delay in issuing the volume, have been rendered necessary by war-conditions.

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RULES OF THE CUMBERLAND AND WESTMORLAND ANTIQUARIAN AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY,

Adopted at the Jubilee Meeting, Sept. 7th, 1916.

I.—The Society shall be called "The Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society."

II.—The Society, founded in 1866, shall have for its purpose the investigation, description and preservation of the antiquities, archæology and historical records of Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire North of the Sands.

III.—The Society shall consist of the original members and those who may have been or shall be elected either at a General or a Council Meeting, upon the nomination of two members.

IV.—There shall be a General Fund, and the Annual Subscription is 10/6, due and payable on July 1st in each year; and no member shall be entitled to the privileges of the Society while his or her subscription is in arrear. A composition of ten guineas shall constitute Life Membership; such composition-fees shall be invested.

V.—Departments of the Society's work are:—

(1) The Parish Register Section, founded in 1911, annual subscription 10/6, for which members shall receive the yearly volume of Registers.

(2) The Research Fund, founded 1907, minimum annual subscription 10/6; subscribers shall receive special copies of reports of explorations.

(3) The Record-Publication Fund, founded 1912, minimum annual subscription 10/6, for which subscribers shall receive the volumes issued by the assistance of the Fund, up to the amount of their subscriptions.

VI.—The officers of the Society shall be a President, Vice-Presidents, an Editor or Editors, two Auditors, a Secretary or Secretaries, and a Treasurer, being honorary officers, who shall be elected at the Annual Meeting of the members of the Society.

VII.—The management of the Society shall be in a Council consisting of the officers above-named, except the Auditors, and of twelve other members, who shall be annually elected at the same time as the other officers.

VIII.—On the recommendation of the Council, the Annual Meeting may elect, either as Patrons or as Honorary Members, such as by their eminence in antiquarian studies, or for their services rendered to the Society, or for other reasons, are deemed worthy of the honour.

IX.—The Society shall hold two or more meetings in each year at some convenient place, at which papers shall be read. The printing of papers in the *Transactions* shall be left to the discretion of the Editor or Editors, whose decision on all points regarding the editing of the *Transactions* shall be final.

X.—The Council shall have power to appoint Local Secretaries and Sub-Committees to assist in the work of the Society.

XI.—The Council shall meet about the month of April to discuss the place or places at which the Annual and other Meetings of the Society shall be held in the season next ensuing.

XII.—Members may introduce guests at the ordinary meetings of the Society.

Meetings held by the Society, 1916-1917.

1.—Carlisle, Hexham and Chollerford .. .. Sept. 7.

2.—Carlisle .. .. April 26.

ART. I.—*Nunnery.* By T. H. B. GRAHAM, M.A.

Communicated at Carlisle, April 23rd, 1915.

SEVEN hundred years ago, a community of nuns was already established at Ainstable. The fact is proved by a charter, of about the year 1200, cited by the Rev. James Wilson (*Victoria Hist. Cumb.*, ii, 190), and containing a grant, by Roger de Beauchamp, to the Priory of St. Bees, of land, therein described with reference to some belonging to the "nuns of Ainstapillith," in *leseschalis*, or scales on the western coast. The *Mappa Mundi*, compiled by Gervase of Canterbury about the same period, calls them the "black nuns of the Priory of St. Mary, Inglewood" (*Rolls Edition*, ii, 441). The modern mansion, known as "Nunnery," near the confluence of the Croglin water and Eden in Ainstable parish, marks the site of the religious house, and its western end embodies a fragment of the original structure. But the nuns early acquired an ancient assart or clearing of Inglewood forest, styled "the Nunclose," lying three miles distant, within the vill of Armathwaite, and so they are commonly described in old documents as the "nuns of Armathwaite." For instance, about the middle of the thirteenth century, four Wetheral charters respectively describe lands at Ainstable as bounded by those of the nuns of Ermynthwait, Hermithuait, Ermitethait or Ermyngthait (Prescott, *Wetherhal*, pp. 267, 269, 272 and 276).

In order to decide the etymology of the name, it should be borne in mind that there is another Armathwaite on Bassenthwaite lake. The "territory of Aermgthuait," alluded to in a thirteenth century charter (*ibid.*, p. 234), may possibly be identical with *leseschalis* above mentioned.

The *Taxatio* of 1290 assessed the possessions of the

prioress of Ermithwayt at £10 (*Taxation of Pope Nicholas*, Record Commission, p. 320).

On September 9th, 1317, licence was granted for the prioress and nuns of Ermittwayth to acquire in mortmain lands and tenements to the value of £10 a year; and, on September 28th of the same year, there was a grant during pleasure to the nuns of Ermynthwayt, on whom much loss had been inflicted by the Scots, of sufficient pasture for their beasts in the forest of Inglewood (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 11 Ed. II, pp. 21, 28).

The *Taxatio* of 1318 describes the temporal possessions of the prioress of Hermithueyt as "totally destroyed" (*op. supra cit.*, p. 333).

On October 16th, 1331, pardon was granted to the prioress and nuns of Ermithwait, whose lands had been very greatly wasted and destroyed by the war of Scotland, of £10 due to the king for victuals bought by them, in the late king's reign, at Carlisle (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 5 Ed. III, p. 191).

In 1362, the nuns elected one of their number, Katherine de Lancaster, prioress, in place of Isabel deceased, and the bishop ordered the archdeacon of Carlisle to assign to the new prioress her stall in choir and place in chapter (Bishop Welton's Register cited V.H. ii, 190).

On April 9th, 1473, the king, understanding from the prioress and convent of the house or priory of Armythwayte, which was of the foundation of the king's progenitors and of the king's patronage, that the buildings of the priory had been destroyed by the Scots, and the priory had been despoiled of its goods, relics, ornaments, books and jewels, and that its charters and other muniments had been burnt or carried off, confirmed their estate in the priory and all its possessions, and especially in an ancient close called the "Nonne close," that they might pray for the good estate of himself, Elizabeth his consort and Edward his son, and for their souls after death, and

for the souls of his progenitors (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 13 Ed. IV, p. 392).

Prioress Isabel was not satisfied with a bare confirmation of title to the lands of which her convent had long enjoyed possession, and on June 20th, 1480, she claimed to have discovered letters patent of William Rufus. They are printed at length by Dugdale (*Monasticon, edit.* 1821, iii, 270), bear date January 6th, 1088-9, and purport to contain a specific grant of the same lands, with freedom from toll throughout England and all such liberties as were enjoyed by the monastery of Westminster. Modern critics have not any hesitation in pronouncing those letters patent a forgery, but they were nevertheless inspected and allowed, on payment of half a mark (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 20 Ed. IV, p. 208).

The grant of extensive liberties to a poor and defenceless convent of nuns was an empty one, because they were not in a position to maintain them. It included by implication the rare privilege of giving sanctuary to felons, and the outward and visible sign of that privilege is the stone bearing the inscription "Sanctuarium," in old characters, and the date, "1088," in modern numerals, which is set in a square pillar of masonry standing near the high road at "Cross close," or "Cross house," three furlongs north-west of the Nunnery. The pillar may have originally been a wayside cross or a boundary cross of the priory land, but Hutchinson learned by enquiry that "it had by laudable care been repaired," and that the date was added (merely to record the foundation of the priory), about the beginning of the eighteenth century—the period when the conventual building was demolished. It is presumed that the sanctuary stone was erected at its present site by the nuns, to put on record a privilege, impliedly granted to them in 1480, but never in fact exercised.

Some passages of the forged letters patent may be

taken as evidence of facts existing in 1480, namely, that the community was known as the "house or monastery of black nuns of the Order of St. Benedict, founded in honour of Jesus Christ and the Blessed Virgin Mary;" that the house stood upon two acres of land adjoining Croglin water; and that the possessions of the priory consisted of three carucates of arable land and ten acres of meadow adjacent to the house, with common pasture in the vill of Ainstable, 216 acres of land on the north side of the water called "Tarnwadelyn," that is to say, in the "Nunclose," with pasture in the forest of Inglewood and an annual rent of 40s. from some tenements at Carlisle.

A survey of the "conventual house of nuns of Armathwaite" was made in pursuance of the statute 26 Henry VIII, c. 3, passed in 1534. Agnes Darwenwater, then prioress and patroness of the parish church of Ainstable, held the rectory of Ainstable, worth in great tithes £6, and the mansion without the "glebe of Armathwaite," in her own hands. (Mansion and glebe were together worth £2 6s. 8d.). She also held a tenement called "glebe," worth 6s. 8d. and other land in different parts of Cumberland worth £10 8s. 10d. The gross value of the property was therefore £19 2s. 2d., subject to the following outgoings:—to the priory of Wetheral one shilling a year; to the bishop "for procuration," at his triennial visitation, 7s. 6d. or 2s. 6d. a year; and to one chaplain, celebrating every day in the presence of the nuns £5 6s. 8d. a year. The net annual value was £13 12s. (*Valor Ecclesiasticus*, Record Commission, vol. v, p. 291).

The Augmentation Office survey, dated July 31st, 1537, contains a detailed account of the possessions of the priory, including a yearly rent of 40s. from the king's land at Carlisle, granted by William the Conqueror (*sic*), to be paid by the keeper of Carlisle but worth nothing.

That item appears in the forged letters patent. The survey gives the net annual value as £19 18s. 10d., does not deduct the chaplain's stipend and describes the annual payment of 2s. 6d. to the bishop as a " pension " in respect of Ainstable church (Dugdale, *Mon.*, *edit.* 1821, vol. iii, p. 272). Richard Chyrden was vicar of Ainstable when the *valor* was made, and it is not unlikely that he also acted as chaplain of the convent, for Dugdale states that there were only three nuns, beside the prioress, in residence there.

On July 20th, 1538, Leonard Barrow, of Armathwaite, obtained a lease of the priory and of the rectory of Ainstable (*L. and P. Henry VIII*, vol. xiv, part i, p. 606), and by letters patent dated March 9th, 1553, Edward VI. granted the priory and its land in fee simple to William Graham, nicknamed " Carlisle," son of " Lang Will " Graham of Esk. (See *Pedigree A* on p. 6).

The grantee's eldest son and heir, Arthur, was living, in 1596, at Blaatwood, Dumfriesshire (these *Transactions*, N.S., xi, p. 75). His stonehouse or tower of " Blawit," shown on the map of 1590 (*ibid.*, N.S., xii, p. 49), has long since disappeared, but, within the memory of persons now living, some cottages, known as " Blaatwood," stood about 300 yards distant from Rigg school, on the right hand side of the road leading from there to the sea shore. The said grantee, in 1561, entailed Nunnery upon his second son, Fergus, also nicknamed " Carlisle " (Nicolson and Burn, ii, 430), who married Jane Barrow, possibly a daughter of the said Leonard Barrow, lessee of the dissolved priory.

Fergus died before June 9th, 1591, when his widow was married, a second time, to Thomas Chamber, of Raby Cote. She died April 5th, 1620 (Nicolson, *Miscellany Accounts*, p. 26).

Fergus and Jane Graham had two sons, William and Robert, both described, in the " Pedigree of the Grahams

Pedigree of Graham of Nunnery.—A.

- WILLIAM GRAHAM, *alias* "CARLISLE," obtained a grant of Nunnery, 1553.
  - ARTHUR GRAHAM, of Blaatwood, Dumfriesshire, in 1596.
  - FERGUS GRAHAM = JANE BARROW. *alias* "CARLISLE," of Nunnery.
    - WILLIAM GRAHAM = ELIZABETH SOMERS. of Nunnery, d. 1603.
      - GEORGE GRAHAM, of Nunnery, b. *circ.* 1593.
      - = KATHERINE, dau. of John Musgrave, of Plumpton Head.
        - (1) MARY = WILLIAM GRAHAM = (2) MARY dau. of John Vaux, of Catterlen. dau. of Richard Kirkbride, of Howes and Ellerton.
          - MABEL GRAHAM.
          - MARY = THOMAS LOWTHIAN, of Staffield, Cumb.
          - MAUDLIN = JOHN ROUTLEDGE, of Cherbuckle Haresceugh, Cumb.
          - KATHERINE = RICHARD FETHERSTONHAUGH, of Langwathby.
          - RICHARD GRAHAM, b. *circ.* 1657.
          - BRIDGET GRAHAM.
      - HENRY GRAHAM, of Newbiggin, Cumberland.
        - RICHARD GRAHAM, of Smardale, Westmorland.
        - GEORGE GRAHAM, of Smardale, Westmorland, sold Nunnery *circ.* 1690.
        - FERGUS GRAHAM, of Dublin.
        - CATHERINE = GEORGE DENTON, of Cardew.
        - ELIZABETH = ROBERT THOMLINSON, of Cumdubbrick (*sic*) Cumb.
        - BRIDGET = WILLIAM CHARLTON, of The Bower, Northumb.
        - FRANCES GRAHAM.
    - ROBERT GRAHAM.

of Esk, 1590," as "very good subjects." William married Elizabeth Somers, of Kent, and died in 1603, leaving a son George, born about 1593, who certified the Visitation pedigree of 1665, and was allowed the armorial bearings thereon recorded. According to that pedigree, he married Katherine, daughter of John Musgrave, of Plumpton Head, and had eight children.

William, their eldest son, married, first, Mary, daughter of John Vaux, of Catterlen, last of the male line, and had four daughters, namely, Katherine, who married Richard Fetherstonhaugh, of Langwathby, son of the gallant Royalist, Sir Timothy Fetherstonhaugh, of Kirkoswald; Maudlin, who married John Routledge, of Cherbuckle Haresceugh,* a forgotten locality, shown on Fryer's map as situate upon the north bank of the Ravenbeck, midway between Kirkoswald and Renwick; Mary, who married Thomas Lowthian, of Staffield; and Mabel.

The said William married, secondly, Mary, daughter of Colonel Richard Kirkbride, of Howes and Ellerton. By this second marriage, William Graham had a son, Richard, born in 1657, and a daughter, Bridget.

The other children of George and Katherine Graham, of Nunnery, were Richard and George, both of Smardale, in Kirkby Stephen parish; Fergus, who migrated to Dublin; Catherine, who married George Denton, of Cardew; Elizabeth, who married Robert Thomlinson, of "Cumdubbrick, Cumberland" (perhaps a clerical error for Cumdivock); Bridget, who married William Charlton, of the Bower, near Bellingham, Northumberland; and Frances.

It was George Graham, described in the Visitation pedigree as "of Smardale," who, about the year 1690, sold Nunnery for £1,436 to Sir John Lowther, bart., and the latter, in 1696, conveyed it to John Aglionby, recorder

* A tenement at "Charbokelhersekewe in the parishing of Kirkoswald" formed part of the possessions of Armathwaite Priory in 1537 (Dugdale, *Mon.* iii, 272).

of Carlisle, in exchange for Drumburgh Castle (Hutchinson, i, 195).

The Aglionbys had long been connected with the affairs of the city and county, and it is not irrelevant to make some remarks supplemental to those contained in these *Transactions*, N.S., xiii, p. 105, concerning the Recorder's ancestors. (See *Pedigree B* on p. 9).

According to the Visitation pedigree, Edward Aglionby, the elder (son of John), married Elizabeth, daughter of Cuthbert Musgrave, of Crookdake, and had issue a son, Edward Aglionby, the younger, and a daughter, Dorothy, married to Alan Blennerhasset, of Carlisle. But Nicolson and Burn, who are usually precise, allege (ii, 327), that it was *Thomas* Aglionby (son of John), who married a Musgrave of Crookdake, and that the said Thomas was Edward the elder's brother. They further allege that the Rev. John Aglionby, D.D., Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford, chaplain in ordinary to Elizabeth and James I, principal of St. Edmund's Hall and rector of Islip, who died February 6th, 1609, aged 43, was a younger brother of the Aglionby who married a Musgrave.

As regards the first allegation: Camden visited Carlisle in 1599 and inspected an inscription "in the house of Thomas Aglionby, near the citadel" (*Britannia, edit.* 1607, p. 642). It is possible that he was Edward the elder's brother. As regards the second allegation: Wood, in his *Athenæ Oxonienses*, gives a biography of the Rev. John Aglionby, and Le Neve, in his *Monumenta Anglicana*, records his epitaph; but neither writer furnishes proof that the said John Aglionby was Edward the elder's brother.

I will now pass to the succeeding generation. Edward Aglionby the younger was not of age when John Denton wrote his *Accompt*, at the very beginning of the seventeenth century. He married Jane, daughter of Henry

Pedigree of Aglionby.—B.

- JOHN AGLIONBY = ... of Carlisle. | dau. of Richard Salkeld, of Corby.
- EDWARD AGLIONBY, the elder, of Carlisle. = ELIZABETH, dau. of Cuthbert Musgrave, of Crookdake.
  - EDWARD AGLIONBY, the younger, of Carlisle, d. 1648. = JANE, dau. of Henry Brougham, of Blackwell Hall, Carlisle.
    - JOHN AGLIONBY, the Royalist, b. 1610. = MARGERY, dau. of Christopher Richmond, of Highhead Castle.
      - JOHN AGLIONBY, Recorder of Carlisle, b. 1642, bur. March 20th, 1717-18. = BARBARA, dau. of John Patrickson, of Calder Abbey.
        - JOHN AGLIONBY, b. 1663, d. in the Isle of Man. = DINAH, dau. of the Rev. Richard Stodart.
          - HENRY AGLIONBY, of Nunnery, b. at Drawdykes Castle, May, 1684. M.P. for Carlisle, 1721-2, Sheriff 1733, d. at Crossfield, Aug. 7th, 1759. = ELIZABETH, dau. of Wilfred Lawson, of Brayton Hall, d. at Crossfield, Dec. 27th, 1757.
            - HENRY AGLIONBY, of Nunnery, b. May, 1715, Sheriff, 1763, d. Dec. 14th, 1770. = ANNE, dau. of Sir Christopher Musgrave, of Edenhall, bart. d March 6th, 1780.
              - HENRY, bur. at St. Cuthbert's, Oct., 1766.
              - JOHN, d. young.
              - CHRISTOPHER, of Nunnery, b. 1752, Sheriff, 1780, d. unmar., Oct. 3rd, 1785, last of the male line.
              - ELIZABETH, d. Jan. 5th, 1822. = RICHARD BAMBER, of Belmont, co. Down, d. Apr. 17th, 1808.
              - JULIA, d. unmar. Sept. 16th, 1793.
              - ANNE, of Newbiggin Hall, Carlisle. = The Rev. SAMUEL BATEMAN, Rector of Farthingstone, Northampton.
              - MARY = JOHN ORFEUR YATES, of Skirwith Abbey.
            - JOHN, bur. at Ainstable, Nov. 1717.
            - JOHN, M.A., of Queen's College, Oxford.
            - SARAH-GRACE, b. April, 1713, died young.
            - SARAH = RICHARD LOWTHIAN, of Dumfries.
            - ELIZABETH, b. May, 1721, bur. at St. Cuthbert's, Dec. 1738.
        - BRIDGET = GEORGE WATSON, d. 1715. of Goswick Castle, Durham.
      - HENRY, M.A., Rector of Bowness, 1691, d. 1697.
      - CHRISTOPHER.
      - RICHARD = MARY. Registrar of Carlisle.
      - GEORGE.
      - JANE.
      - ISABEL.
      - MARY.
    - DOROTHY = ALAN BLENNERHASSET. of Carlisle.
    - MARY = JOHN SANDFORD, of Askham.

Brougham, of Blackwell * Hall, near Carlisle, and had issue a son, John, and a daughter, Mary, married to John Sandford, of Askham. He was probably identical with the Edward Aglionby representing Carlisle in Parliament from 1623-5 and appointed alderman of Carlisle by the "governing charter" of July 21st, 1637, for he is stated to have died in 1648. His said son John was a distinguished Royalist and took a leading part in the defence of Carlisle, during the siege of 1644-5. He had previously to that date married Margery, daughter of Christopher Richmond, of Highhead Castle.

Their eldest son, John, is stated to have been 23 years of age at the date of the Visitation (March 28th, 1665), and was therefore born in 1642.

On March 4th, 1655-6, "John Aglionby, son and heir of John Aglionby of Carlisle," was admitted a student of Grays Inn, and was called to the bar at the same Inn, on November 25th, 1668. Before coming of age, he married Barbara, daughter of John Patrickson, of Calder Abbey. He was admitted Recorder of Carlisle on February 27th, 1679, and had in the meantime been an alderman of that city. It is not clear whether he was (as Hutchinson relates), appointed king's counsel. Chamberlayne's *Present state of England* mentions, in 1694, John Aglionby, Esquire, as one of the counsel-at-law to their Majesties William and Mary.

But the fact that the same publication continues to include the name of John Aglionby in its annual list for upwards of half a century raises a strong presumption that the Recorder is not there referred to, unless indeed there were two John Aglionbys who respectively held the appointment of king's or queen's counsel in the intervening period. The Recorder was buried on March 20th, 1717-18, in the family vault at St. Cuthbert's, Carlisle.

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* Sometimes spelt Blackhall and pronounced "Blekal." The older form is Blakhale. Compare Wetheral, formerly Wetherhal.

His son, John, born in 1663, married Dinah, daughter of the Rev. Richard Stodart and died in the Isle of Man, leaving a son, Henry, born at Drawdykes Castle in 1684, who married Elizabeth, youngest daughter of Wilfrid Lawson, of Brayton Hall, and sister of Sir Gilfred Lawson, the sixth baronet.

Henry Aglionby was for many years an alderman of Carlisle and filled the office of mayor, was M.P. for the city, 1721-2, and sheriff of the county in 1733. He appears to have been given possession of Nunnery, by his grandfather, Mr. Recorder Aglionby, during the latter's lifetime, because Hutchinson states that he pulled down the priory in 1715 and erected the present mansion upon its site. He resided at Nunnery until his eldest son's marriage, when he retired to the house which he had built at Crossfield, where he remained until his death on August 7th, 1759. His said eldest son, Henry, born in May, 1715, married Anne, daughter of Sir Christopher Musgrave, of Edenhall, bart. Like his father, he was for many years an alderman of Carlisle, and sheriff of Cumberland in 1763. He died at Nunnery in December, 1770, and is buried at Ainstable.

He was succeeded at Nunnery by his third son, Christopher, sheriff of Cumberland in 1780, who died unmarried in October, 1785, last male representative of the ancient family. His property was partitioned between his four sisters by the Court of Chancery, and Nunnery fell to the eldest, Mrs. Elizabeth Bamber. Its subsequent devolution is shown by *Pedigree C* on p. 12.

Mrs. Elizabeth Bamber died in 1822 and by her will devised Nunnery to her nephew, Francis Aglionby (formerly Yates). Francis Aglionby was major in the Cumberland Militia and M.P. for East Cumberland. He was also chairman of the Court of Quarter Sessions for the county from 1818 until his death, which occurred, very suddenly, on July 1st, 1840, within the precincts of the

Pedigree of Aglionby (continued).—C.

ANNE = The Rev. SAMUEL BATEMAN, of Newbiggin Hall.

HENRY AGLIONBY BATEMAN, of Newbiggin Hall and Nunnery, b. Dec. 28th, 1790, assumed the name of Aglionby, M.P. for Cockermouth, d. unmarried 1854.

MARY = JOHN ORFEUR YATES, of Skirwith Abbey.

FRANCIS YATES = MARY, of Nunnery, assumed, the name of Aglionby, b. 1780, M.P. for East Cumberland, m. Feb. 8th, 1814, d. July 1st, 1840. — dau. of John Matthews, of Wigton Hall.

JOHN YATES = JULIA, of Virginia, U.S.A., m. 1801. d. 1851. — dau. of W. Lovell.

JANE = CHARLES FETHERSTONHAUGH, d. May 21st, 1874. — of Staffield Hall, m. April, 1847.

CHARLES YATES = FANNY, of Nunnery, assumed the name of Aglionby, b. 1807, m. 1844, d. Jan. 31st, 1891. — dau. of Col. James W. Walker, of Virginia, U.S.A.

ELIZABETH AGLIONBY = ARTHUR COOPER, m. Oct., 1871, d. 1885. — Lieut.-Col. 33rd Foot, C.B., of Staffield Hall and Drawdykes, J.P., assumed the name of Aglionby in 1885, b. 1832, d. Feb. 11th, 1911.

The Rev. FRANCIS KEYES AGLIONBY, D.D., Oxon., Vicar of Christ Church, Westminster, sold Nunnery to Arthur Charles Aglionby. = AMY, daughter of the Right Rev. Edward Henry Bickersteth, Bishop of Exeter.

ARTHUR CHARLES AGLIONBY = JOYCE WILLIAMS-WYNN, of Staffield Hall, Drawdykes and Nunnery, b. July 15th, 1872, barrister-at-law, late Capt. 3rd Battalion Connaught Rangers, District Commissioner Gold Coast, Deputy Governor of H.M. Prison, Manchester. — dau. of Joseph Godman, of Park Hatch, Surrey.

court (Jefferson, *Leath Ward*, p. 247). At his decease, without male issue, Nunnery became vested, under the provisions of Mrs. Bamber's said will, in Henry Aglionby Aglionby (formerly Bateman), of St. John's College, Cambridge, and Lincolns Inn, for an estate in tail male. Henry Aglionby Aglionby practised with distinction on the Northern Circuit, until his election as M.P. for Cockermouth. He died without issue in 1854, when Nunnery devolved upon Charles Aglionby (formerly Yates).

Charles Aglionby died in 1891 and Nunnery passed to his son, the Rev. Francis Keyes Aglionby, D.D., now vicar of Christ Church, Westminster, who sold it to the present proprietor, Arthur Charles Aglionby (formerly Cooper), descendant of Christopher's youngest sister, Mrs. Mary Yates.

Note on some Coats of Arms at Nunnery.

Nine sculptured shields are set in the back wall of the grotto in Nunnery Walks. A tenth, with its heraldic charges effaced, is built into a side wall of the same grotto.

Those which are enclosed in quatrefoils form a scheme of decoration and may belong to the early part of the fifteenth century. It is highly probable that they adorned the sides of the tomb, in St. Cuthbert's Church, Carlisle, upon which reposed effigies of a knight and lady preserved in Ainstable church. I say highly probable, because a writer in *Sepulchral Monuments*, vol. ii, part ii, p. 150, published in 1796, describes the tomb and observes that on its sides, *in quatrefoils*, appeared the following coats of arms:—

A., fretty; B., fretty under a label of four points; C., a fesse between three fleurs de lis, *impaling* barry of 4 or 6 a bend and D., another coat not seen.

It is remarkable that the writer makes no reference to the arms of Denton, which are emblazoned on the knight's

breast and which occur three times, within quatrefoils, in the grotto, and he only mentions those of the allied families. But the omission is explained by the fact that he has already quoted the epitaph "Orate pro anima Katharinæ Denton." Two of the shields in the grotto are cut side by side (*quasi* impaled) upon one stone, and it may be inferred that all were similarly grouped upon the four sides of the tomb. I venture to arrange the quatrefoils in the grotto to fit the writer's vague description thus :—

A.—Denton conjoined with the fretty coat.

B.—Denton conjoined with the effaced coat on the side wall.

C.—Skelton of Branthwaite conjoined with Copeland (missing).

D.—Copeland conjoined with Denton.

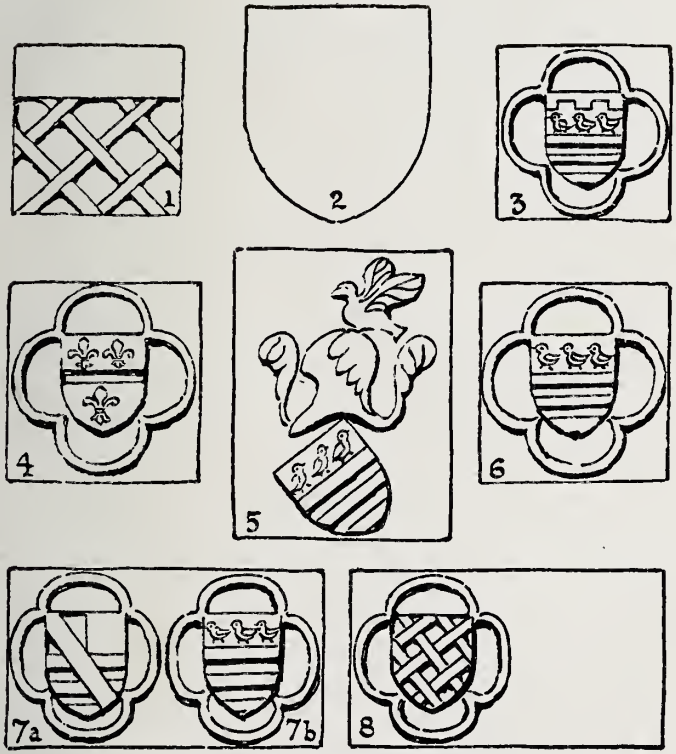
The sculptor left a vacant space for a quasi-impaled coat on the right side of the fretty coat, but he may have discovered that its position would not be correct, cut it upon a separate stone and placed it on the left side.

These coats were no doubt originally blazoned in colour, but, as all colouring has long disappeared, doubt may arise, in one or two cases, as to what family they should be assigned. For instance, the fretty coat may, according to its tincture, represent Salkeld, Harrington, Hudleston, Fleming or Boyvill (these *Transactions*, N.S., vi, p. 226), and the bars and martlets may, according to their tincture, represent Denton or Aglionby (*ibid.*, p. 212), but the epitaph containing the name Katharine *Denton* removes all doubt about the latter point.

The other shields in the grotto are early examples of heraldic art and come from another source.

One bears the arms of Curwen.

The next has been so obliterated by the action of the weather that it is impossible to form an opinion concerning it.



COATS OF ARMS AT NUNNERY WALKS.

TO FACE P. 14.

The central one is the most interesting of all. The martlets face to the right, which is unusual, but they probably indicate Denton of Cardew and Ainstable. The crest, a bird rising, is not usually assigned to that family, but it was used by Denton of Warnell in 1616, as appears on a monument in Sebergham church. It is certainly not the "eagle displayed" of Aglionby.

ART. II.—*The Manor of Melmerby.*

By T. H. B. GRAHAM, M.A.

Communicated at Carlisle, April 23rd, 1915.

SIR John de Denum, lord of the manor of Melmerby in Edward II's reign, presented a petition, complaining that :—

He has a fortress, called the "tower of Melmorby," in Cumberland, capable of being guarded by twelve men-at-arms. He has kept the tower till now, against many assaults of the Scots, always well defended by the grace of God, to their great damage and loss of their men.

But his lands are so wasted, that he cannot provide a garrison, and therefore prays help from the King, for it would be a great loss to the country around if she (*sic*) was taken.

The petition is endorsed : "Some marriage, ward, or farm to be looked out, and the king will give him a reward for looking after the safety of the country" (*Cal. Doc. Scot.* iii, p. 163).

The name of the village, formerly spelt Melmorby and pronounced "Mellerby," indicates that it was once the home of Melmor, a name mentioned in Gospatric's Charter as of a landowner living "in Eadred's days" (? 946-955). The same place-name occurs in the North Riding of Yorkshire, four miles south-west of Leyburn and again three miles north-east of Ripon.

John de Denum and Margaret his wife obtained licence, in 1322, to entail the manor of Melmerby upon themselves (*Cal. Pat. Rolls,* 16 Ed. II, p. 175), and licence, in 1324, to bar the entail (*ibid.*, 17 Ed. II, p. 362) ; and an important record of 1336, relating to "Derdarre in Blackhale," states explicitly that the same Margaret, late the wife of

John de Denum, was daughter and heiress of John de Wigton (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 10 Ed. III, p. 628).

John de Wigton served in the Scottish campaign of 1300, when "the good baron of Wigton received such blows, that it was the astonishment of all that he was not stunned; he bore, within a bordure indented, three gold stars on sable" (Nicolas, *Siege of Carlaverock*, p. 75). The roll of arms of the reign of Edward II (*edit.* Nicolas, p. 13), includes "Sire Johan de Wigketone, de sable, a iij moles (mullets), de or, od la bordure endente de or."

He married, first, Dionisia de Lovetot whom he improperly divorced, and the said Margaret de Wigton, born in 1293, was his only child. He married, secondly, the "Margaret de Wigton," whose dower, at his death in 1315, included the advowson of Melmerby, valued at £20 *per annum* (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 10 Ed. II, p. 399), and one-third of the wood and moor of Blakhale, valued at three shillings *per annum*. She afterwards married Robert de Hilton, the younger (*ibid.*, 12 Ed. II, p. 31), and died in June 1333 (*Cal. Fine Rolls*, 7 Ed. III, p. 363). She must not be confused with her step-daughter of the same name, who figures so largely in the history of Melmerby.

Margaret, last of the de Wigtons, was 22 years of age on April 9th, 1315, when her father, John de Wigton, had recently died, and was then described as widow of John de Crokedayk (*Cal. inq. p.m.*, 8 Ed. II, p. 297).

She married another husband, namely, John de Weston, before her death, without issue, in 1349.

The manor of Melmerby was not dependent on that of Wigton, but was a distinct tenement *in capite*, held by the de Wigtons (these *Transactions*, N.S., xiii, p. 91), subject to the payment of 13s. 4d. yearly for cornage, and 4s. 4d. yearly for food of the king's bailiffs. But, by a fine levied in the king's court in 8 Ed. III, 1334-5, the manor and the advowson of the church were vested

in Robert Parvyng,* the younger (*Cal. inq. p.m.*, 17 Ed. III, p. 302), and, on March 10th, 1337, the said Robert Parvyng, the younger, described as "King's serjeant," obtained licence to enfeoff Robert Parvyng, the elder, parson of the church of Hutton-in-the-forest, of the same manor and advowson, and for him to regrant them to Robert Parvyng, the younger, for life, with successive remainders to Margaret, wife of John de Weston in fee tail, to the heirs of the body of Robert Parvyng, the younger, to Adam, son of John Pacok, in tail male, and an ultimate reversion to the heirs of Robert Parvyng, the younger (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 11 Ed. III, p. 396), and the premises were settled accordingly, by a fine levied in the same regnal year. Robert Parvyng, the most eminent lawyer of his day, emerges suddenly, like a comet, from obscurity, and, after a short blaze of splendour, vanishes as suddenly from view. He seems to have belonged to a local family, but Lord Campbell says (*Lives of the Chancellors*, i, 245) :—" I do not find any account of his parentage or early education. He was probably of obscure origin, owing his rise to his talents and his industry." He took the degree of serjeant-at-law in 1329-30 (Coke, *Institutes*, part 4, p. 79), he was one of the king's serjeants on June 24th, 1333 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 7 Ed. III, p. 454), and honours were heaped upon him in rapid succession. On May 23rd, 1340, he was appointed a justice of the Court of Common Pleas (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 14 Ed. III, p. 519). On July 24th, 1340, he was made Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 14 Ed. III, p. 497). On December 15th, 1340, he was appointed Treasurer of the Exchequer (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 14 Ed. III, p. 75), and, at midnight of October 28th,

* The name appears in some of the Great Rolls of Exchequer as Peruyng or Paruyng (see *Year Book* 16 Ed. III, p. xcix, *note*), and was probably pronounced Parvyng. It has been surmised that Margaret gave Robert Parvyng an interest in Melmerby and its dependent manors of Blakhale and Stainton, as a reward for his defence of her rights, against Sir Richard Kirkbride, who claimed them as heir male of John de Wigton (Nicolson and Burn, ii, 246).

1341, he was appointed Lord Chancellor, and carried the great seal to his house at Aldermanbury, London (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 15 Ed. III, p. 339).

It has been asserted (Denton, *Accompt, edit.* Ferguson, p. 103), that he married Katherine, sister of Sir Richard Kirkbride. But on June 30th, 1329, Robert Parvyng and *Isabella* his wife were pardoned for acquiring in fee without licence, certain lands at Bochardby, held in chief (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 3 Ed. III, p. 404), and there are facts which suggest that Sir Walter de Kirkbride was his father-in-law. In 1315, Walter de Kirkbride put in his place (*i.e.*, gave a power of attorney to), Robert Parvyng, to seek and receive his purparty of the land of John de Wigton, deceased (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 9 Ed. II, p. 304), and again, in 1318, he put him in his place against Dionisia de Lovetot, in her plea of dower (*ibid.*, 11, Ed. II, p. 614), and on July 11th, 1322, when Sir Walter de Kirkbride was discharged from imprisonment as an adherent of the Earl of Lancaster, one of the sureties for his good behaviour was Robert Parvyng (*Parliamentary Writs*, 16 Ed. II, vol. ii, div. ii, *appendix* ix, p. 211). Robert Parvyng was Knight of the Shire for Cumberland in the Parliament of 1325-32.

On February 24th, 1335, there was confirmed to Robert Parvyng, king's serjeant, then in possession of Melmerby, a grant in fee, which had previously, on September 20th, 28 Ed. I, 1300, been made to John de Wigton, namely, to hold a market every Wednesday at his manor of Melmerby, and a fair there every year, on the eve, day and morrow of St. Peter *ad vincula*, August 1st (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 9 Ed. III, p. 149).

On May 4th, 1342, licence was granted for the alienation in mortmain, by Robert Parvyng, of the advowson of the church of Melmerby, held in chief, to certain chaplains, to celebrate divine service in that church, as he should appoint, and for the appropriation of the church by the chaplains (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 16 Ed. III, p. 428).

The scheme for transforming the parish church into a college of eight priests, to be endowed with the advowsons of the rectories of Melmerby and Skelton and an oxgang of land in the former parish, provided that the master and chaplains, vested in surplice, amice and black cope, should daily sing matins and prime at dawn, according to the use of Sarum (Salisbury), followed immediately by the mass of the Blessed Virgin, and that the masses of St. Nicholas and St. Margaret respectively should thereafter be said at the altar of St. Nicholas (*Carlisle Episcopal Registers*, cited *Victoria History*, ii, 204).

According to general practice black vestments were only used in offices of the dead, and their daily use here is peculiar. There is nothing in the foundation deed to support the allegation that Melmerby church is dedicated to St. John the Baptist. I infer that St. Nicholas was its patron saint. The scheme came to an end owing to the sudden death of its pious originator, who, in the events which happened, was only tenant for life of the premises.

Sir Robert Parvyng died on August 26th, 1343, at the Bishop of Worcester's house, without the bar of the New Temple, London, and, on the following day, the great seal was carried in a bag by Richard de Kirkbride and Adam Parvyng (Robert's yeoman), about the hour of vespers, to the church of the prior and brethren of the Order of the Friars Preachers, within the gate of Ludgate (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 17 Ed. III, p. 225).

The writ for the inquisition concerning his lands in Cumberland was issued upon the day of his death. The jury found that the manor of Melmerby had been settled as above mentioned, and that his heirs-at-law were his sisters, Joan, the wife of John Pacok, and Emma, late the wife of John de Scaleby, both aged 40 years and more (*Cal. inq. p.m.*, 17 Ed. III, p. 302). On November 23rd, 1343, the manor and advowson of Melmerby were, in

accordance with the said family settlement, delivered to Margaret, widow of John de Weston (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 17 Ed. III, p. 196).

On August 5th, 1349, there was an order to the escheator to deliver to Adam, son of John Pacok, the manor and advowson of Melmerby, as the king had learnt by inquisition that Margaret de Wigton, at her death, held the same for herself and the heirs of her body, with remainder in default to Robert Parvyng, then deceased, and the heirs of his body, and in default to Adam and the heirs male of his body, and that Margaret and Robert both died without heirs of their bodies (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 23 Ed. III, p. 52). And on July 12th, 1362, the escheator was ordered to deliver to Adam, son of John Pacok, knight (*militi*), "cousin" of Robert Parvyng, knight, another manor, that of Bochardby, taken into the king's hand by the death of *Isabel, wife of the said Robert Parvyng*, who, at her death, held the premises in fee tail of the gift of Robert Parvyng, parson, of Hutton, to her and her husband and the heirs of their bodies, with remainder to the said Adam and the heirs male of his body (*ibid.*, 36 Ed. III, p. 341).

Adam, son of John Pacok, knight, is evidently identical with Adam Parvyng, knight, taken prisoner by the Scots during a truce, concerning whose release a wager of battle, between English and Scots, was being prepared on May 28th, 1357, much to the king's annoyance (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 31 Ed. III, p. 411).

Sir Adam Parvyng was Knight of the Shire for Cumberland in that year, and sheriff in 1368 and 1370. He died in 1381, seised of the manors of Blakhale, Stainton and Bochardby in the forest of Inglewood (*Cal. inq. p.m.*, 4 Rich. II, p. 31).

Melmerby is not enumerated amongst his possessions, for it was discovered that he had parted with the manor and advowson to Henry de Threlkeld and Thomas de

Derby, parson of the church of Brougham, who assigned the premises to John de la Pray,* vicar of Morland, William de Kendal and Thomas Walker, of Great Strickland. The last named conveyed the same to Robert Matheweson, chaplain, Thomas de Haveryngton and Thomas Lightlop, as tenants in chief, who granted them to the said Henry de Threlkeld and Robert de Threlkeld, chaplain, and the last named were, on February 10th, 1381, pardoned for the trespass (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 4 Rich. II, p. 595). This complicated transaction may have been an abortive attempt to carry out the scheme of a college, for which Robert Parvyng obtained a licence, but the Calendar of *Inquisitiones ad quod damnum* of the same year contains the record (p. 618) that Henry de Threlkeld and Robert de Threlkeld, chaplain, are to retain the manor and advowson of Melmerby.

And here the curtain falls upon the old history of Melmerby and is not raised until nearly a century and a half later. Mr. W. Jackson, F.S.A., who wrote an account of the Threlkelds of Melmerby, alludes (these *Transactions*, O.S., x, p. 1), to the unaccountable blank.

Melmerby, though held in chief, is not mentioned in any published record until 1526, when Humphrey Threlkeld died seised of the manor and advowson (*Cal. inq. p.m.* 18 Hen. VIII, p. 224), and it seems probable that the Threlkelds had continued in possession of the same during the interval.

Richard Singleton, rector of Melmerby, whose letters are preserved in the library of the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle, wrote in 1677 :—

The church is at this day called "Melmerby Church" and dedicated (as the old Lady, Mrs Katherine Threlkeld tells me), to St John the Baptist, on whose day our towne doth yearly keep their ffeast (*Machel MSS.*, vol. vi).

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* The name is spelt del Bray (Nicolson and Burn, i, 444).

But the circumstance is not of itself evidence of such dedication, because the villagers of Cumwhitton also held "the wake on the eve of St. John, with lighting fires, dancing, &c." (Hutchinson, i, p. 177); and our late member, the Rev. G. R. Hall, writing in 1879, says, "the fire festivals, or bonfires, of the summer solstice, at the Old Midsummer, until recently, were commemorated, on Christenbury Crags and elsewhere, by leaping through and dancing round the fires, as those who have been present have told me" (quoted by Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 2nd edn., vol. iii, p. 288). And so it is possible that the midsummer feast at Melmerby, which coincided with the church festival of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, may have been instituted before the advent of Christianity.

Over the kitchen door of Melmerby Hall, the manorial mansion, is an escutcheon of four quarters:—1st, a maunch (sleeve), for Threlkeld of Melmerby; 2nd, a cross engrailed, for Kirkbride of Ellerton; 3rd, three mullets, two, one *; and 4th, a crossbow between three moorcocks, for Highmore, of Armathwaite, in Bassenthwaite parish.

Above the escutcheon is a helmet surmounted by a wreath and crest, the head of a woman with flowing hair, issuing from the battlements of a tower proper.

Richard Singleton refers to the popular tradition that the ancestor of the Threlkelds rescued a lady, whom a giant had imprisoned in a tower, and so won the distinctive crest.

On the left side of the crest are the letters L T K, and on the right the date 1658. The initials are those of Lancelot Threlkeld, who died in 1673, and of Katherine his wife, "the old lady" to whom Mr. Singleton refers. The Herald's Visitation of 1664 states that she was the

* The same escutcheon is roughly tricked upon *Harleian MS.*, *No.* 1536, and the tincture of the 3rd quarter indicated as—argent, three mullets gules pierced, two, one (*Harl. Soc. Pub.*, vii, *ad finem*).

daughter of Nicholas Whitfield, of New Shield, Alston Moor, and describes the crest of the Threlkelds of Melmerby as "a woman's bust proper, habited gules."

Richard Singleton also gives an interesting account of the old church, which has since been hideously restored. The north wall appears to remain in its original condition, except that its door and two windows have been filled with masonry. Portions of the east and west walls are also standing. Adjoining the chancel and part of the nave, there was formerly a north aisle, separated from the body of the church by two pillars and three arches. One would infer from Richard Singleton's account that the aisle was an excrescence from the main building, but an examination of the existing walls suggests that it was an internal structure, lighted by one of the north windows. The eastern end of the aisle contained a small square vestry, with a window, and the remainder may have originally been a chapel. Between the lord's pew in the chancel and the aisle was a wooden partition, bearing the inscription :—

> In templo gentes caveant simul esse loquentes.
> Demon scribit ibi cuncta locuta sibi.
> In Dno confido.

Which may be translated :—"Let people beware of talking together in church, for the devil is there, and writes down for himself all they say. In the Lord I confide."

But the most interesting feature of the old church was what, by description, appears to have been a rood-loft, surmounted by a canopy inscribed :—

Orate p. aia Willm. Maguhe. O vos omnes, qui transitis per viam, attendite et videte si est dolor similis sicut dolor meus et Christine, consortis sue.

The spelling of the surname is uncouth. Bishop Nicolson (*Miscellany Accounts*, p. 121), gives it as Ma*q*uhe, and

the final word as *mee*. But the opening sentence and last four words of the inscription ought to be read together :– "Pray for the soul of William MacEwe and of Christina, his wife." The intervening paragraph seems to refer to the large crucifix, which probably stood upon the rood-loft. William MacEwe may have been sub-feoffee of Melmerby and resident lord of the manor.

Gale Hall, the site of which is occupied by a modern farmhouse, was formerly the mansion of the manor of Gale, lying for the most part in Melmerby parish and belonging to the Huttons of Hutton Hall, Penrith (Jefferson, *Leath Ward*, p. 299) ; but it does not appear to have ever formed parcel of the manor of Melmerby.

ART. III.—*The Lancaster Canal.* By JOHN F. CURWEN, F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A.

Read at Carlisle, April 27th, 1916.

WHEN London, the largest city in Europe, possessed no public docks upon her river, when heavy coaches lumbered along from the thinly inhabited suburb of the West End to the outlying villages of Chelsea, Kensington, Marylebone and Bermondsey, when the roads of the country were reckoned the worst in Europe, over which it was impossible for wheeled traffic to travel at a greater speed than four miles an hour and when everything had to be carried by pack-horses—then the business men of Lancaster and Kendal were seeking for some easier method of conveying their merchandise and of obtaining their needs.

With the exception of the main road from Lancaster and perhaps the cross road *via* Ambleside to Cockermouth, the lines of transit in this part of the country were little better than pack-horse tracks, which were abandoned for fresh ones when through depth of mud they became impassable. Even when in later years it was attempted to adapt them for wagon traffic, they were little improved; for stones were just thrown loosely into the larger holes, over which the wheels were supposed to jolt, only to find themselves buried the deeper in the mud beyond.

We have a glimpse of the condition of our main road south at this period (1768), given by Arthur Young in his "Tour," who "most seriously cautioned all travellers who may accidentally purpose to travel this terrible country to avoid it as they would the devil, for a thousand to one but they break their necks or their limbs by overthrows or breaking downs . . . . . Between 'proud

Preston' and Wigan I actually measured ruts of four feet deep, floating with mud . . . . . and passed three carts broken down in those eighteen miles of execrable memory." In winter, he says, " it would have cost no more money to make the roads navigable, than to make them hard." (Smiles, *Lives of the Engineers, Early Engineering*, p. x).

Unfortunately, neither Gray in 1769 nor Pennant in 1773 enlighten us upon the condition of the roads they traversed, so that, even if we look upon this as somewhat exaggerated, we are bound to accept it to a certain degree.

Other descriptive Ramblers to the Lakes all came later, after the great twenty years (1760-1780) when no fewer than 600 Acts were passed authorising the construction of new " turnpike " or " turngate " roads throughout the country.

But our story opens before that period, and there can be no doubt that it was owing to the wretched condition of the roads as also to the limited amount of burden that could be placed upon a pack-horse, that the conception of inland water-carriage was due. The lesson had been learnt from the sea. It was so much easier and actually cheaper to bring foreign goods to Lancaster, Milnthorpe or Whitehaven, than to bring English goods by land from Wigan, Manchester or Birmingham.

Only some ten years before our promoters were at work, the Duke of Bridgewater was engaged upon England's first modern canal, and so behind were we in engineering skill that his Grace had to employ a workman of the poorest origin to survey and scheme out the course. James Brindley, the wheelwright of Sutton near Macclesfield, could scarcely sign his name ; he certainly could not write, and yet he was a man so endowed with common sense and ingenuity that he was already looked upon as a clever constructor of water-mills. As yet there was no special class trained to the profession of engineering ; Perry was but a sea-captain, Smeaton an attorney's

clerk, James Watt a maker of instruments, Stephenson an engine brakesman, Telford a working mason, whilst Brindley was by business a wheelwright, and Rennie a millwright. They were the servants of necessity; when some great work had to be done they rose to celebrity simply by their practical workshop knowledge and patient determination to overcome all obstacles.

And so to James Brindley our seekers went, only to find unfortunately, that his life's work was nearly done. It is recorded that he commenced the survey himself, but that owing to ill health, the task had to be relinquished to his pupil. Our Vice-President, Mr. J. Rawlinson Ford, has recently presented me with a plan of this survey, inscribed, "A Plan of the intended Navigable Canal near Eccleston in the County Palatine of Lancaster to Kendal in Westmorland; Surveyed by Robert Whitworth; Engraved by Thomas Jefferys, Geographer to his Majesty, 1772." And from it we find that at first it was suggested to cut the line (a) from Eccleston *via* Longton to Penwortham, in order to cross the Ribble, and from thence trailing westward nearly as far as Kirkham, back again to Plumpton, and so along northward passing to the *west* of Garstang, Lancaster and Borwick, to a place called "Tewitfield,"* a little way beyond; a total distance of 54½ miles.

As the line however, was attended with some difficulties, Whitworth was asked to try a higher line, which he did by taking (b) a shorter bend westward and by locking up 24 feet to Sidgreave. From thence he took a course to Salwick Hall, eastward again to Hough and so along northward, passing to the *east* this time of Garstang and Lancaster and with a long hair-pin bend, nearly to Halton, onward to "Tewitfield;" a total distance of 55½ miles,

* Tewit, Teufet, Tewet, Peesweep, Puet,—the Lap-wing. "Pewit in the north of England is called Tewit, or bastard plover." 1688, Holme, *Armoury* iii, 254.

which, as he observed, "notwithstanding the 24 feet rise, is the easier and better line." Entering the hill country, Whitworth found it necessary to rise very suddenly, from the (a) line 86 feet, or from the (b) line 62 feet. From the head a level course of sixteen-and-a-quarter miles was taken, *via* Holme, Farleton, Crooklands and the Hincaster Tunnel to Nether Bridge at Kendal on very much the same line as the canal exists to-day. One cannot but pause with admiration at the clever way in which this survey was made, and that without the aid of our modern scientific instruments.

For one reason or another, however, the Committee were not satisfied, and so sought further advice from different people, hoping for an improvement on Whitworth's higher (b) line. Several years after, when Samuel Gregson published a printed letter to the Committee, (dated 30th January, 1792), he reviewed the history of these long negotiations, stating how they had tried various plans for crossing the Lune, one of which was by taking the line as far up as Halton Scars, but that each surveyor had come to the conclusion that it was necessary to drop to the same level as Whitworth proposed ; in like manner how various lines had been tried on either side of Preston to cross over the Ribble. The chief objection taken to the scheme, however, appears to have been that the course did not extend south enough to tap the coal-fields around Wigan. During this delay (1785) one enthusiast, whilst denouncing in a pamphlet the wretched condition of the roads, in such words as, "May we all scorn to plod through the dirt as we long have done," writes, "A lime stone and coal country ought to have a communication with each other, as both those articles are necessary for the convenience of life, the demand for them will always subsist and pay more tunnage than every other article that may be navigated on a canal." *

* "A cursory view of a Proposed Canal from Kendal to the Duke of Bridgewater's Canal, leading to the great manufacturing town of Manchester, giving a particular account of the internal native productions in the line, together with the advantages that will accrue to the public," etc.

No definite advancement was made, however, until the 4th June, 1791, when some thirty merchants and traders of Lancaster addressed a letter to the Mayor, setting forth the advantages which their rival, the town of Liverpool, derived from inland navigation and how that it placed them in "so decided a superiority in the vend of their imports as greatly to diminish the commerce of this town of Lancaster . . . . . unless some means can be found to meet them in the market upon more equal terms." The letter concludes with a request that the Mayor will convene a public meeting to consider the several surveys. There can be little doubt that young Rennie was selected as engineer at this meeting. It is no small thing to realise that upon our Canal the promoters not only consulted and secured the services of Brindley but also of Rennie, a man who, in later days made his name famous when he carried the Rochdale and Todmorden Canal right over the Backbone of England, and even more so when he erected the wondrous Breakwater at Plymouth.

I am indebted also to Mr. Ford for a copy of Rennie's survey, which bears the following inscription :—" Plan of the proposed Lancaster Canal from Kirkby Kendal in the County of Westmorland to West Houghton in the County Palatine of Lancaster ; Surveyed in the years 1791 and 1792 By John Rennie, Engineer. Engraved by W. Faden, Geographer to the King, 1792."

In this scheme the suggestion was accepted to tap the coal-fields of Wigan, and thus make the canal of twice the value to the districts along its banks. The cutting was to form a level distance of fifteen-and-a-half miles to a place called Clayton Green, thence to lock down 222 feet on to an embankment and aqueduct across the Ribble. From Preston it was suggested to follow the (b) line of Whitworth's plan as far as the Calder river where Rennie desired to branch round the north side of Greenhalgh Castle to the village of Garstang, and so, by an aqueduct

over the Wyre, northward to join the (b) line again at Cabus Nook, and thence through a remarkable deep cutting at Ashton, near Lancaster, with slight variation to Tewitfield—a level distance of some 42½ more miles. Here there was to be a branch of 2½ miles cut to the foot of Warton Crag for the sake of tapping the limestone of the district.

In order to shorten the course through Westmorland Rennie struck a line across the mosses rising by five locks at Dale House and Holmer Hall and from thence *via* Hilderstone Moss-side to Hang Bridge; with four more locks he made direct for Hincaster, a distance of nine miles and rising in all 65 feet. To approach the gunpowder works at Sedgwick it seemed still necessary to tunnel beneath Hincaster Hill, after which a level course of five miles completed the line as a canal, with an additional mile to the river Mint, opposite Mint House, as a feeder: a total length of 75½ miles with a fall of 222 feet from the south and 65 feet from the north. It was intended to place the canal head at Kendal just south of Nether Bridge, but the enlightened Corporation of the time came forward and offered to build at their expense the necessary warehouses and wharves, together with a stone bridge across the Kent, in place of the ancient Miller Bridge, if the Company would continue the length more into the centre of the town.

The scheme soon developed. A general meeting was held at the Town Hall, Lancaster, on the 7th of February, 1792, at which it was resolved unanimously to form a subscription list for obtaining an Act of Parliament to carry it into execution, and for defraying all expenses necessary for completing the same. It is said that before the meeting terminated £247,800 had been promised, a sum which was increased to £370,500 before the end of the month, the town of Lancaster providing an overwhelming proportion.

The first Act (32, Geo. 3, c. 101) was obtained on the 25th of June, 1792, as follows :—

Whereas the making and maintaining a Navigable Canal from the town of Kirkby Kendal, in the co. of Westmorland . . . . . to the township of West Houghton, at a place called West Houghton Chapel, in the co. of Lancaster ; and also the making of two navigable cuts or branches, one from a place at or near Borwick Hall, to or near Warton Crag, and the other from at or near Gale Moss, in the parish of Crofton, by Chorley, to or near Duxbury, in the parish of Standish, both in the said co. of Lancaster ; will not only be of considerable advantage to the lands and estates in the neighbourhood thereof, by making a communication from the extensive mines of Coal at the southern extremity . . . . . to the inexhaustible quantities of Lime stone at the northern end thereof, of both which articles all the intermediate country is greatly in want, but also by uniting the Port of Lancaster with so large a tract of inland country . . . . . wherefore, for obtaining and perfecting the good effects and purposes aforesaid, may it please your Majesty etc.

From Section 3 the Act makes it clear that it was not then the intention of "The Company of Proprietors of the Lancaster Canal Navigation" to join up with the Leeds and Liverpool Canal, but rather to cross over it to West Houghton.

Section 7 grants permission to the Company to take a feeder from the river Mint "at a certain place called Mints Feet, taking in at the most convenient place the Stockbridge Brook and to make the same to join the said intended canal, at a certain place in Kirkby Kendal aforesaid, called Yeanum." Provided always that not more than one-half of the water of the said rivers be taken, and that the mill-owners upon their banks may draw, if necessary, water from the canal for the use and working of their mills, "so as that the head or flow of water in the said canal be not thereby reduced more than two feet, nor to a less depth than five feet."

Section 8 enacts that in order to secure such head of

water, the canal must be made at least seven feet deep from "Yeanum to the southern extremity of Hincaster Green."

Sections 62 and 64 grant to the Proprietors power to raise and contribute among themselves a competent sum of money to carry on so useful an undertaking provided that the said sum does not exceed £414,100 to be divided into shares of £100 each, and that £60,000 thereof be applied solely to the Westmorland Section. Permission was also given to borrow an additional sum not exceeding £200,000.

With such powers no time was lost in getting to work, and the first meeting of the Proprietors was held on the 3rd of July, 1792, when John Dilworth was elected chairman to the Company.

In the following year a second Act (33 Geo. 3, c. 107) was obtained, granting permission to make another branch from Galgate to Glasson Dock, within the Port of Lancaster, a distance of 2½ miles.

In 1794 trouble arose with the Leeds and Liverpool Canal Co. who desired to make a deviation from their plan and by going southward to take in the Douglas valley, circle round the south of Wigan, and turning northward run in a parallel line beside and above the Lancaster Canal to its prejudice and detriment. In their Answer as opponents to the Leeds and Liverpool Bill, the Lancaster Canal Co. prepared a plan not only showing the deviation complained of, but—what is more interesting to us—an intended extension of their own line from West Houghton to Worsley in order to form a junction with the Bridgewater Canal.

Three years after the first Act was obtained, on the 30th of August, 1795, the Company published their first detailed report, in which we find that the Committee intended to confine their energies at first to two quite separate portions, viz.: one from the limestone country at Tewitfield to Preston, and the other from the coal and

cannel country in the neighbourhood of Bark Hill, near Wigan, to Clayton Green, 5 miles south of Preston ; thus deferring the difficult sections caused by lockage from Tewitfield to Kendal, and from Clayton Green to the Ribble, with the necessary embankments and aqueduct across the river to Preston. Of the work in progress the Committee report as follows :—

Section 1, from Tewitfield to Ellel Grange (17 miles) it is hoped to complete within two years. The aqueduct over the Keer is up to the spring of the arch ; that over the Lune—" the greatest piece of work of the kind in this Kingdom "—is likewise up to the spring of the arches ; the road aqueduct at Bulk is completed ; the arch of the aqueduct over the Conder is turned ; and a number of road and occupation bridges, culverts, and other pieces of masonry are in great forwardness.

Section 2, from Ellel Grange to the river Calder (10 miles) may be completed within 16 months. The Cocker aqueduct is of small dimensions, and for the one over the Wyre—consisting of one arch of 54 feet span—the materials are preparing.

Section 3, from the Calder to Myerscough Wood (3 miles) may be completed within 18 months. The materials for the aqueducts over the Calder and Brock are in great forwardness and the arches of three of the other bridges have been turned.

From here nothing seems to have been done until we get to Limbrick Beck, near Chorley, from whence Section 4 carries the line to Bark Hill (7 miles) which it is hoped will be completed shortly. The aqueducts over the Limbrick, Baganley and Lostock, as over the river Douglas—consisting of one arch of 40 feet span—are nearly finished.

Truly a fair record for three years work at a cost of £149,920.

The third Act (36 Geo. 3, c. 97) received the royal

assent on the 14th of May, 1796, enabling his Majesty, in right of his Duchy of Lancaster, to make a grant of certain lands required.

How far Rennie himself was responsible for the carrying out of the work, it is not easy to determine, but by the year 1796 it would seem that one Thomas Fletcher was engineer to the Company, and engaged upon planning out the Westmorland section. Mr. J. H. Thurstan, the London and North Western Railway Company's Engineer at Lancaster, has very kindly shown to me a Survey (Roll 82) made by Fletcher in November, 1796, in which he also strikes for Holmer Hall, rising there some 27 feet by a series of locks, 16 feet by two locks at Rowell, 16 feet by two locks at "Debit," or Deepthwaite Bridge, another 16 feet by two locks near to Greenhead Farm and thus with a total rise of 75 feet to the Kendal Basin, with a Feeder falling 23 feet from the river Mint.

A second Survey (Roll 1025) made by Thomas Fletcher in January, 1797, endeavours to take a medium course between Whitworth's and Rennie's lines, which shows how loath the Company were to give up the limestone district around Farleton. This Survey rises 60 feet by seven locks at Tewitfield, passes on the east side of Holmer Hall, on the west side of Holme, from thence to Farleton where it follows around Whitworth's bend *via* Crooklands to Stainton, rising 9 feet by a lock opposite the seventh milestone in passing. Instead of passing westward to Hincaster however, Fletcher boldly neglected the Gunpowder Works, and, by rising 6 feet made straight between Stainton Hill and Mary Bank for Raines Hall and Larkrigg Hall, and from thence to Kendal, with a total rise of 75 feet.

However, both schemes were again shelved, for the Company seem to have been at their lowest ebb of depression. Although it was reported that the two southern portions would be completed before the end of the year,

yet the Company had to face the fact that by that time their full resources of £85 per share would be called up, and that there would remain a deficit of £40,435, £15 per share being reserved by the Act for the construction of the canal in Westmorland.

According to expectation the portion from Preston to Tewitfield was completed by the 1st of November, and three weeks afterwards the Traders of Lancaster, notwithstanding the financial difficulties, indulged in quite an aquatic ceremony and toasted the magnificent aqueduct over the Lune which alone seems to have swallowed up over £48,000.

On the north-east side of the aqueduct is inscribed: "To Public Prosperity"; on the south-west side:—

Quæ deerant adeunt: sociantur dissita: merces
Flumina conveniunt arte datura novas.

A.D. MDCCXCVII ING. I. RENNIE EXTRUX. A. STEVENS P. ET F.

This may be rendered in a couplet of the style of the time, and expanding ING(eniavit) and EXTRUX(ere) as "Delineavit" and "Sculpsit" are used beneath engravings, and P(ater) ET F(ilius):—

Old needs are served; far distant sites combined;
Rivers by art to bring new wealth are joined.

A.D. 1797. J. Rennie, engineer. A. Stevens & Son, contractors.

A tombstone in Lancaster churchyard gives the death of Alex. Stevens, architect, on Jan. 29th, 1796, at the age of sixty-six.

Rennie was great on bridges—Waterloo Bridge, London Bridge, and Southwark Bridge were all of his design. This bridge is 600 feet in length, and is formed of five semicircular arches, each of 70 feet span, carrying the surface of the canal 62 feet above the average level of the river, or 70 feet above the sea datum.

An abstract of the Balance Sheet for the first six years, up to December, 1798, is instructive:—

On the Lancaster Level.					
Land, etc.	£42604	17	1½		
General Expenditure	178158	11	2		
Lune aqueduct	48320	18	10		
Hydraulic Pozzolano earth from Italy	321	8	9		
				£269405	15 10½
On the Wigan Level.					
Land, etc.	£5760	1	6		
General Expenditure	55416	16	3½		
				£61176	17 9½
Applications to Parliament ..	£6327	1	2		
Salaries, fees, etc.	16341	11	9		
Quarrying, Boat building and Interest to Proprietors ..	29314	3	5		
				£51982	16 4
				£382565	10 0

By the year 1799 William Cartwright was engineer to the Company, and on the 1st of November the Committee issued a report of his survey for the best method of connecting the northern with the southern portion of the canal. He says, "Your south level is intended to terminate at Clayton Green, being the most northern point which will admit of that level being carried on before the general fall to the Vale of Ribble commences. This part of your canal is completed from Bark Hill to Johnson's Hillock (12 miles); the remaining part to Clayton Green (3 miles) has the chief part of the masonry and part of the cutting already done upon which £8000 has been expended. From the want of some connection between the two levels both sections suffer so that even the town of Preston cannot be supplied direct with coal." Cartwright estimated the cost of the original plan of locking down 222 feet and crossing the Ribble by an aqueduct at £180,945. Conceiving that a simpler method might be found, he continues, "I have turned my thoughts therefore to the forming of a junction by means of a double wagon-way, that is, the ascending wagons to have

one road and the descending wagons to have another road. . . . . Erecting steam-engines by the aid of which the wagons will be lowered and raised . . . . . and to cross the Ribble with a substantial wooden bridge . . . making a similar inclined plane on the north side of the river to a proposed basin at Preston with a short length of waterway to the present terminus at Spital Moss." Estimated at £60,000.

To carry some such scheme into effect, and to pay off the debts of the Company, the Committee once more applied to Parliament and on the 20th of June, 1800, obtained the fourth Act (39-40, Geo. 3, c. 57) granting them power to raise £200,000 by additional shares.

A Mr. Monk now came forward with an alternative scheme, suggesting that the Douglas Navigation should be continued from Rufford *via* Tarlton Bridge, Bank Hall and, skirting the marshes to Penwortham, lock down to the Ribble. With these conflicting views it would appear that the Proprietors then went back to their first engineer, asking John Rennie and William Jessop, Esquires, to survey and adjudicate upon the schemes. Their report was presented to the General Meeting on July 7th, 1801, in which they say:—"We are still of opinion that an embankment to the full height of the Lancaster level, and a stone aqueduct will be most advisable, and on estimating the expense of a design which Mr. Rennie has made for an aqueduct of three arches of 116 feet span each, we have no doubt of its being done for less than £94,979 (i.e. about one-half of Cartwright's estimate). As this sum is not within the extent of the Company's funds at present . . . . . it will be to the interest of the Company that a temporary mode of conveyance should be *immediately* adopted and we know of none more advisable than by an Iron Rail-way etc." Cartwright's scheme was evidently adopted, for on January 4th, 1803, the Committee report that the "Iron Rail-way is making

considerable progress" and that 234 yards out of 259 yards in length of the tunnel through Whittle Hills, connecting up with the canal at Johnson's Hillock, were completed.

The engine-house on the north bank of the river was situated on the site of the present Belvedere, near the Flagstaff, and after the wagons were hauled up, eight or nine of them were formed into a train, drawn by horses. The route skirted the edge of Avenham Brow, behind what is now Ribbleside Place, and thence turning due north crossed under Fishergate to the wharf.

The first recorded effort for passenger traffic appears to have been made in 1802, when "a pleasant voyage" for the Guild is advertised from Lancaster to Preston with the assurance that "for safety, economy and comfort no other mode of conveyance could be so eligible as the packet boats; for there the timid might be at ease, and the most delicate mind be without fear."

By the year 1805 it is evident that the Company were at last considering it about time to do something in Westmorland. On the 2nd of July a report and survey of the practicability and expense of making a *railroad* from Tewitfield to Kendal, with an estimate of £38,574 was laid before the meeting.

How far Cartwright was responsible for this suggestion I do not know, but the London and North Western Railway Company possess the original plan (Roll 306) which shows that it was thoroughly worked out with inclined planes for ascending and descending wagons, similar to that over the Ribble. The line was to ascend 70 feet at Tewitfield, to rise gradually 10 feet in a fairly straight line to Crooklands, and thence east of Lane Hill to Stainton. Following the easiest course it was again suggested to avoid the Gunpowder Works by continuing the line on Fletcher's plan to the east of Stainton Hill, where ascending 40 feet by another inclined plane it

reached its highest level to descend gradually 13 feet to Natland, and by a third inclined plane to descend rapidly 32 feet to Natland Mill and so onward to Kendal 75 feet above the canal at Tewitfield.

The gunpowder influence, however, appears to have been too strong against the scheme, so that we find on the 7th of January, 1806, a report and survey for making a navigable canal, 27 feet wide at the top and of 4½ feet depth of water, with an estimate of £71,734 was laid before the meeting and approved in preference to the railroad. This scheme, which virtually adopts the original Whitworth survey, and the one ultimately carried out, was designed by William Miller and inscribed "A Plan of the intended Variation [from Rennie's line which received Parliamentary sanction by the Act 32, Geo. 3, c. 101] of the Lancaster Canal from the Township of Hutton in the Co. of Lancaster to the Township of Hincaster in the Co. of Westmorland and of the intended Railway in the Township of Farleton in the said Co. of Westmorland and also of the intended Railway from the said Canal in the Township of Carnforth to Kellet Seeds in the Township of Over Kellet both in the said Co. of Lancaster" (L. & N. W. Ry. Roll 582).

At the July meeting it was resolved to apply to Parliament for the fifth Act, to sanction the Variation.

The Bill (47 Geo. 3, Sess. 2, c. 113) which received the Royal assent on 13th of August, 1807, prays for power to vary the line from the northern terminus of the present executed part thereof, at or near a place called Tewitfield to a certain place called "the World's End" in the Township of Hincaster, and also to make and complete a railway or road leading from Farleton Knott to communicate with the said variation in a certain close called Kilnhall in the Township of Farleton; and another railway or road from certain limestone rock at or near a place called Kellet Seeds in the Township of Over Kellet, according to a Plan deposited with the Clerks of the

Peace for the counties of Lancaster and Westmorland. It repealed the power of the Committee to take a feeder from the river Mint, and withdrew the stipulation that the canal must be 7 feet in depth from "Yeanam" to Hincaster Green.

Eight locks were to raise the level from 70 feet up to 146 feet above the sea level, and the canal was to pass to the east of Holme, through Farleton and Crooklands to Stainton Bridge End where it was to turn due west to flow through the Hincaster Tunnel of 378 yards in length with the water level 76 feet below the summit of the hill. Finally the canal was to end at Kendal with a basin near the Aynam, and one cannot help being struck with the very curious coincidence that the northern section commences from Preston at a place called Avenham Walk, (pronounced Aynam), beside the confluence of the Swill Brook with the Ribble. At Overborough there is a field now called "Yannam" but formerly "Eynam" which is situated in the angle formed by the confluence of Leck Beck with the Lune, just as the French town of Avignon is situated in a fork between the Rhone and the Durance rivers.

On the 7th of February, 1809, it was resolved "That the Committee be directed and authorised to proceed with the execution of that part of the canal between Tewitfield and Kendal," and yet, owing no doubt to the dark Napoleonic war-cloud, four more years elapsed before the Committee issued on 19th of December, 1812, their reasons for continuing the canal to Kendal, as follows :—

1.—*Coal.* The quantity of coal at present carted from Tewitfield to Kendal amounts to 7000 tons per annum, which if conveyed by canal would raise an additional income of £620. To which should be added a possible increase in the consumption of coal by the facility and saving on conveyance ; as also an increase in the demand for coal owing to the inclosing of Waste Lands and draining of Turbary Grounds, thereby reducing the quantity of turf for fuel ; estimate of increased consumption paying Canal Duty the whole length of the line £1,924.

2.—*Coal Slack.* The quantity of Slack at present carted from Tewitfield to Kendal amounts to 6000 tons, which if conveyed by canal would raise an additional income of £175. Estimate of increased consumption say 3000 Tons paying duty the whole length of the line £400.

3.—*Slate.* 3000 Tons are stated to be carried annually from Kendal to Yorkshire, and to the Leeds and Liverpool Canal at Gargreave, at an expense of 27/- per ton, a cost equal to £450. An increase in the trade owing to the saving of at least 14/- per ton estimated at £450.

4.—*Merchandize.* 6600 Tons, the present quantity, if conveyed by the Canal from Tewitfield to Kendal, would raise £1070, to which should be added an increase of the carrying trade owing to the probable diversion of the coasting trade from Milnthorpe to Lancaster and so along the Canal, £1100.

5.—*Timber,* Freestone, Flags, Bricks and Marble estimate £500.

6.—*Packet Boats* estimate £400.

7.—It is further expected that the water which the locks will bring down, may supersede the expense of pumping water at Preston, a saving of say, £500. Making a total extra income of £7589, and the Committee estimate the expense of construction of the line, which had recently been re-surveyed, at £98,095.

Toward the end of 1813 the contract for making Hincaster Tunnel was let, and by the 6th of February, 1816, the Committee report that the aqueduct over Stainton Beck and the Moss Lane aqueduct are finished; a considerable quantity of materials are laid down for those over the Crooklands and Farleton Becks; the masonry of one of the locks is completed whilst the others are in a state of forwardness. Difficulty had been found in getting suitable stone for the roofing of the Hincaster Tunnel but that the Committee were trying experiments for the manufacture of bricks on the site. On the 4th of February, 1817, it is reported that 2,000,000 bricks had been made and that half the length of the tunnel was completed.

The construction of the line from Hincaster to Kendal was publicly let, on the 30th of June, 1817. Several

navvies attended the meeting, and afterwards caused considerable riot in the town. The newspapers record the occurrence, and say, "Sound Policy demands that the ruffians should be held up as an example to the unruly multitude which the cutting of the canal will shortly bring to this populous neighbourhood." * And so we pass forward to the 21st of November, 1818, when we find that the eight locks were all completed and that "much praise is due to Mr. Fletcher (who succeeded as engineer after the death of Cartwright in 1812) for the plan of these locks and for the manner in which the workmanship has been executed under his immediate control and inspection."

In the last or sixth Act (49 Geo. 3, c. 64) we find the Company seeking power to raise £270,000 on mortgage of the rates and dues, as, having spent all their capital they now found it "expedient and necessary" to make one or more reservoirs in the township of Killington and to utilize the river Beela for conveying water from thence to the cut or feeder already joined up with the canal. As was only likely, the Bill met with considerable opposition on the grounds that the Committee had already exceeded their authorised share capital by £21,935, and were therefore to some extent seeking an Act of Indemnity; that instead of securing sufficient income by making a through connection with the coal fields at West Houghton, the wagon-way being but an inconvenient substitute, they had rather wasted their resources in "ornamenting the town of Lancaster, with a grand aqueduct over the Lune, upon which the water had laid stagnant for over 20 years;" and finally, that they still intended to make a useless branch to Glasson Dock in the forlorn hope of reviving the "decayed port of Lancaster." The Act, however, was obtained on the 14th of June, 1819, when sufficient newly enclosed land was purchased from the

* *Westmorland Advertiser*, July 5th, 1817

townships of Old Hutton, New Hutton, and Killington for the purposes of a reservoir. The water now covers an area of 153 acres, with an extreme depth of 53 feet, and it is reckoned that it holds some 4,000,000 liquid cube yards.

Soon after it was filled (September 10th, 1820) a leak was discovered in the dam, when it was found necessary to drain the whole to make the needful repair. In doing this a vast quantity of fine red trout, of six to seven pounds weight, were caught and taken in some 40 cart loads to the Kendal market.

Unheedful of all remonstrance the Committee pushed forward the northern section. The newspapers tell us that by the 27th of March, 1819, the canal was filled with water as far as Crow Park to the west of Natland; that by the 14th of April the first boat came up to the Aynam Basin; that the official opening was postponed from the 1st of May until the 18th of June, owing to the bursting of an embankment seven miles from Kendal,* and that on the 3rd of September another rupture occurred in the bed of the canal sufficient to stop the traffic for a week.

The story is told how that the ox-eye daisy was first brought into Westmorland by seeds in the barges, but be this truth or fiction, we come to the 1st of May, 1820, when Packet Boats commenced to ply both ways daily between Preston and Kendal. The advertisement announces that the one from Preston will leave at 6 o'clock in the morning and may be expected to arrive at Garstang at 10 o'clock, Lancaster at 1 o'clock, the Locks at 4 o'clock and Kendal at 8 o'clock, in time to catch the coach for the North, which will leave soon after the arrival of the Packet. Fore cabin 6/-, After cabin 4/-, for the whole journey. Tea, coffee and refreshments will be served on board. Such a journey, now-a-days, would

* The opening ceremony is fully recorded in all the local histories.

be considered a most sleepy, ridiculous affair, but in the early part of the last century it amounted to something quite wonderful.

On the 2nd of July 1833, an express boat named the "Waterwitch" commenced to run, by which the whole journey of 57 miles was reduced to seven hours, the boat making the return journey within the day, and maintaining a speed of ten miles an hour with a change of horses every four miles. The fare remained the same, and for the first six months no fewer than 16,000 passengers availed themselves of the service.

The passing of the Railway Acts, however, brought about changes. The line from Preston to Lancaster was opened in June, 1840, and we find a "Bradshaw" for 1842 giving the times for a connecting Packet Boat service as follows :—

LANCASTER CANAL SWIFT PACKET BOATS.

TRAVELLING AT UPWARDS OF NINE MILES PER HOUR.

Kendal.	Lancaster.	Arrival at Preston.	Trains Leave Preston.	Arrival at Liverpool or Manchester.
..	6- 0 a.m.	9-20 a.m.	9-45 a.m.	12-0 noon
6-30 a.m.	9-50 ,,	1-20 p.m.	2-20 p.m.	4-0 p.m.
8-30 a.m.	11-50 ,,	3-20 ,,	4-20 ,,	6-0 ,,
Manchester.	**Liverpool.**	**From Preston.**	**Arrival at Lancaster.**	**Arrival at Kendal.**
9-0 a m.	8-45 a.m.	11 - 0 a.m.	2-20 p.m.	6-20 p.m.
11-15 ,,	11 - 0 ,,	1-30 p.m.	4-50 ,,	8-30 ,,
2-45 p.m.	2-30 p.m.	4 - 0 ,,	7-20 ,,	..

	First Cabin.		Second Cabin.
FARES between Preston and Lancaster.....	1s. 6d.	....	1s. 0d.
,, ,, Lancaster and Kendal	3s. 0d.	....	2s. 0d.

An omnibus between the railway and packet stations free from charge.

N.B.—The packets are warmed during the winter season. 1st m./1st/,1842.

When the young railway got into financial trouble it was the Canal Company which with pluck and audacity took it over on lease for a term of twenty-one years from the 1st of September, 1842, and for several years they had the pleasure of reporting that their working of the railway had been as satisfactory "as the continued existence of commercial depression could reasonably warrant." It would seem, however, that the lease was never actually signed and that the railway began to shuffle out of it. On the 20th of November, 1844, they seek to vary it by saying that until 1847 the Canal Company is to pay them 4 per cent., but after that date, the new Lancaster and Carlisle Railway Co. will take the lease over at 5 per cent. Then arose a great dispute between the three companies and on the 1st of February, 1848, the Canal Company report that they have "neglected no opportunity to press for the completion of the lease but that the Lancaster and Preston Railway Co. has by its own acts delayed the measure and now repudiates it. Your Committee have therefore, been compelled to file a Bill in Chancery for specific performance of the agreement entered into on the 14th of July, 1842."

Agreement, however, was come to before the February meeting in 1849, whereby the railway agreed to pay for the relinquishment of the lease a sum of £4,875 per annum during the remainder of the unexpired term of 21 years. A statement was issued later, showing that the pluck of the Canal Company had resulted in a clear total profit of £67,391.

Meanwhile the death blow to the canal was developing, as the London and North Western Railway Company began to amalgamate the "North Union" to Preston, the "Lancaster and Preston" the "Lancaster and Carlisle," and finally the "Kendal and Windermere" companies. On the 21st of September, 1846, the Lancaster and Carlisle line was opened as far as Kendal, whereupon

the Packet Boats ceased to sail. From this period a bitter struggle ensued and various arrangements were tried—such as that the railway would not carry coal if the canal would not carry passengers, and so forth—until the year 1864 when the North Western Railway Company took over a lease of the waterway, and finally purchased it outright for £500,000 in 1885.*

After the final dividends had been paid and only some £100 were left in hand, Mr. William Ford, the then chairman, caused a silver medal to be struck and presented to each of the Proprietors, when the Company was dissolved.

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* 1859. The tram wagons ceased running across the Ribble. 1868. The engine house, with its large chimney on Avenham Brow was demolished.

ART. IV.—*The Borough Court of Egremont.* By CÆSAR CAINE, Vicar of Cleator.

Communicated at Carlisle, September 7th, 1916.

IN my paper on "The Manor Court of Egremont" I discussed at length two preliminary facts, which it is necessary to state briefly here :—

1.—The court was not held for *one* manor in particular. The manors subject to this court comprised a huge district which may be said to extend, roughly, from the river Derwent to the river Esk.

2.—The town of Egremont was not subject to this court, having a court of its own known as the Borough Court.

By the gracious permission of the Rt. Hon. Lord Leconfield, and the kindness of Herbert J. Watson, Esq., J.P., and George W. Banks, Esq., I have now copied the Rolls of the latter court, and it is my purpose, in this paper, to give a digest of these extremely interesting records.

In these *Transactions*, O.S., i, part 3, the late Canon Knowles gives the translation of two charters and an indenture relating to the Borough of Egremont. The charters belong to the reign of King John (1199-1216). The indenture is dated 1291. There is an Elizabethan Survey, among Lord Leconfield's muniments, which MS. also contains a translation of these three documents.

On carefully comparing the Elizabethan translation, and that of Canon Knowles, with the originals, passing over minor and inconsiderable differences, one notices that there are two blanks in Canon Knowles' translation owing to the obliteration of words on the first and longer charter. These blanks are supplied by the Elizabethan

copy. Apparently the damage to the original document has occurred since Tudor days.

It is needless to repeat these charters. My notice of them will suffice if I give the paragraphs which are missing from Canon Knowles' presentment of them.

(*a*).— . . . . . within my forest defendue, they shall give an eschap. (Knowles).

The Elizabethan copy runs :—

And if their pigs shall come, without my licence, into my forest defended (or prohibited) they shall give an escape.

(*b*).—If a burgess have bought a burgage, within the town, and have held it a year and a day, without exception from any man, it shall remain to him . . . . . in trafficking and travelling. (Knowles).

The Elizabethan copy is even more helpful here than in the former case :—

Likewise, if a burgess shall buy a burgage below (under the control of) the vill, and he shall hold it for a year and a day, without suit by anyone, that land shall remain quit, unless anyone shall show his right, and he shall (have been) without the realm in business and peregrination.

Here we have a very important condition, affecting ownership, restored to the charter.

The court of this borough, like the manor court, was a court of customary-hold tenants, also a court of record, a court for the appointment of officers, a court for the punishment of minor offences, and a small-debt court, distinguished as the Customary Court, the Court Leet, and the Court Baron.

I.—The president of the court was the steward of the Lordship, but the steward often appointed a deputy. I regret I have not secured any names earlier than 1637.

1637.—Hugh Potter. He was steward to the Earl of Northumberland, residing apparently in London, and coming north at intervals to hold audits and courts. He died in 1669, and left £52 for the poor of Cockermouth.

1637.—Leonard Dykes. He lived at Warthole and was an ancestor of the present Dykes family of Dovenby Hall, near Cockermouth. He seems to have acted as the local agent for the Earl of Northumberland, and would be appointed Deputy Steward by Mr. Potter, for the purpose of holding the court.

1641.—William Tubman. He was doubtless a member of the well known Tubman family of Cockermouth.

1685.—The records are signed by one of the Jury.

1714.—William Rook. A deputy.

1719.—John Muncaster. He was a local agent of the Duke of Somerset. There is some correspondence from him addressed from Dovenby.

1723.—John Christian. He was one of the Christians of "Ewanrigg" (*vide* these *Transactions*, N.S., iv, p. 217). He acted as steward for the Duke of Somerset up to 1745, when he died.

1733.—John Laverock. Appointed deputy steward for the purpose of holding the court. He appears to have belonged to the Wigton district.

1743.—Ewan Christian. He was the eldest son of John Christian, and acted for his father, who was ill at the time. He died in 1752.

1745.—Thomas Simpson. He was a solicitor resident at Penrith. He was steward to the Duke of Somerset and afterwards to Charles, Earl of Egremont.

1756.—Robert Baynes. He succeeded Thomas Simpson as agent and steward to Lord Egremont. He was a Cockermouth solicitor, but came there from Kendal.

1768.—Thomas Benson. He was partner with Robert Baynes and would be deputy steward. He was appointed steward after Mr. Baynes. Mr. Thomas Benson was an Egremont man, and son of John Benson, the owner and occupier of the King's Arms at Egremont, and bailiff of the Borough and Lordship of Egremont for a long period. He married a sister of Robert Baynes and resided at Cockermouth.

1778.—Miles Ponsonby. One of the Ponsonby family of Haile Hall. He was only deputy for holding the court.

1789-92.—John Grundon Taylor. He was a Cockermouth man, and connected in business, probably as a conveyancer, with Mr. Benson, deputy only.

1797.—Robert Benson. He was the son of Thomas Benson, whom he succeeded later on, agent and steward to Lord Egremont. At this time he would be acting in behalf of his father

He continued to hold the stewardship for a few years, and then Nathanael Nicholson was appointed. On the death of Nicholson, Robert Benson received the appointment again. He lived at Cockermouth, and died in 1858.

1800.—RICHARD SHERWEN. He was an Egremont man and acted as deputy steward.

1805.—NATHANAEL NICHOLSON. He belonged to an Egremont family. He was partner for many years with Robert Benson, and also H. T. Thompson, and resided at Cockermouth. Nathanael Nicholson and Robert Benson were cousins. William the father of Nathanael Nicholson married Catherine Benson.*

1810.—HENRY DENTON. A deputy.

1810.—WILLIAM TAYLOR. A conveyancer of Cockermouth, who acted as deputy.

1817.—WILLIAM BRAGG. At this time he was only deputy steward, but he was afterwards (1836) appointed steward to the Earl of Egremont, and then to General Sir Henry Wyndham, who succeeded Lord Egremont.

1821.—HENRY T. THOMPSON. He was a solicitor, and, for a time, partner with Nathanael Nicholson. He appears here at deputy steward.

1826.—HENRY STAMPER. He was a Cockermouth man, and appears as deputy for Nathanael Nicholson. The latter gentleman, with the exception of this year, signs the records from 1822 to 1830.

1831-1836.—ROBERT BENSON.

1837-1857.—WILLIAM BRAGG.

1858.—THOMAS THOMPSON. He was a conveyancer at Cockermouth.

1859.—DAVID RAPLEY. He was agent and steward for General Sir Henry Wyndham for a short time. He lived at Cockermouth.

1864-1871.—SILAS SAUL. He was a Carlisle solicitor, and was deputy steward for Lord Leconfield's manors.

1872.—SILAS GEORGE SAUL. He was the son of Silas Saul, and, like his father, was a Carlisle solicitor.

1878-1890.—HENRY CLARKE, JOHN HUGHES, JOHN GRAHAM. These were all solicitors in Messrs. Saul's offices. They were appointed at various times to hold the courts.

1902 and onwards.—GEORGE FREDERICK SAUL. First of all he appears as deputy, but after the death of his father, Silas

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* Egremont Register.—1778, June 1st, William Nicholson and Catherine Benson, of this parish married by licence.

George Saul, he was appointed steward. He is a solicitor, and the present steward of Lord Leconfield's manors. The Borough Court has not been held since 1912.

II.—The officers of the court can be traced further back than the stewards. There is a very complete list for the 9th year of Henry VIII. It reads :—

Surveyors of the Ditches -

Louans * Senhows.	William Puyll.
Richard Hoy.	Thomas Keldsyke.

Surveyors of Weights—

William Wyllson.	Richard Moll.
William Hogeson.	William Begrigg.
John Perre.	John Wyllson.

Serjeant—

Robert Skelton has been elected serjeant this year.

Surveyors and Overseers of Grain—

William Begryg.	William Bull.

Surveyors of Weights—

Richard Colteman.	William Edward.

Surveyors of Ditches—

William Wyllson.	William Celdsyke.

Surveyors of Water—

Robert Swanson.	John Celdsyke.

The following list belongs to the Stuart period :—

17th year Charles I (1641).

Dykers—

William Sanderson.	Edmond Towenson.
Edmond Wilson.	William Littledale.

Pinders—

Nicholas Wy.	Thomas Atkinson.
Robert Harriman.	Christopher Wilkinson.

Jurors—

Anthony Patrickson	Richard Borradale.
William Wilie.	John Coate.
Thomas Tyson.	Henry Richmond.
William Grayson.	William Walker, jnr.
John Bragg.	Robert Johnson.
William Porter.	Henry Benn.
Richard Nicholson.	Edmond Bigrigg.

* Laurence.

Borough Serjeant—Francis Smith.
Borough Bailiffs—

Henry Richmond.	William Walker, jnr.

Constables—

William Wilie.	William Steele.
John Coates.	Francis Smith.

I will add two other lists referring respectively to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries :—

May, 1715.
Serjeant—William Johnson.
Constables—

William Johnson.	William Thompson.
Thomas Coates.	Joseph Fletcher.

Assessors—

Isaac Grayson.	Anto. Davies.

Pinners of Brisco, Hedge Lookers, and Common Lookers—

William Coates.	Anto. Davies.

Market Lookers—

Isaac Garner.	William Millikin.

May, 1816.
Jurors—

Edward Todd.	James Matterson.
John Nicholson.	Robert Tyson.
Henry Cooke.	William Ritson.
Stephen Roberts.	John Towerson.
John Steele.	Moses Robertson.
John Dean.	D. Jenkinson.

Borough Sergeant—Thomas Atkinson.
Constables—

John Dean.	Thomas Atkinson.
Robert Tyson.	

Borough Bailiffs—

Moses Robertson.	Henry Jackson.

Market Lookers—

William Ritson.	Thomas Atkinson.

Hedge Lookers and Viewers of Damage—

James Matterson.	Stephen Roberts.

III.—The Free Tenants in the time of Charles I numbered less than sixty persons, as this abstract will shew :—

Free Tenants, 24th October, 15th year of King Charles I (1639)—

John Senhouse.
William Grayson.
Richard Nicholson.
The heirs of Nicholas Moore.
William Wily.
William Askew.
Henry Benn.
William Robinson.
Richard Tolson.
Francis Smith.
Henry Grayson.
Isaake Antrobus, clerk.
Henry Richmond.
Isaac Antrobus.
The late Thomas Murrey's widow.
Thomas Patrickson.
Leonard Robinson.
Edmond Porter.
William Porter.
William Askew.
John Luccas for 3 Burgage Tenements.
Richard Nicholson.
John Thompson.
John Gateskell.
Thomas Miller.
The late Francis Morden's widow.
Leonard Robinson.
Robert Johnson.
Walter Kelsicke.
William Richmond.
William Cook.
Edmond Porter.
Richard Ponsonbie.
Thomas Tyson.
The heirs of Nicholas Waters.
Thomas Benson.
John Coate.
Simon Dale.
Joseph Patrickson.
Thomas Tyson.
The late Richard Robinson's widow.
Edward Nicholson.
William Walker.
Tristam Sumpton.
William Walker.
John Bragg.
Richard Borrodale.
John Williamson.
William Willson.
Edward Bigrigg.
The heirs of Thomas Dickonson.
William Askew.
The late George Barracke's widow.
Thomas Coltman *alias* Cowman.
John Senhouse, Esq.
The late Robert Millham's widow.
John Wylie.
Anthony Patrickson.
The late William Wily's widow.
Thomas Antrobus, clerk.
John Benson.
Richard Wyes.
Anthony Benn.
The heirs of George Coltman.
William Askew.
Richard Benson.

Other lists are given with the same exactness.

The burghers were extremely jealous and watchful against "foreigners" settling among them. One or two

abstracts from the minutes of the court will illustrate this :—

Oct 11. 1715.

Whereas several foreigners or strangers have within these few years come within this Burrough to inhabit, and thereby gained loyal settlement and afterwards become very troublesome, and chargeable to the parish, we therefore putt in paine that no person or persons what soever shall hereafter take any inmate within the Burrough, except he shall bring a certificate at the time of his, her, or their entry, to keep this parish indemnified, or be qualified by the farme, according to Act of Parliament, upon paine for every offence £1.

Ap 3. 1741.

We also make an order that no person or persons whatsoever do, at any time, hereafter, take any inmate or let to farm any dwelling house, or tenement, within the said Burrough or Parish of Egremont under ten pounds a year without such inmate or farmer first producing a certificate to the Churchwardens of Egremont, of the place of their last legal settlement, upon the penalty of thirty five shillings.

IV.—The records of deeds relating to property, and legal recognitions of the possession of property, are very numerous, and only a few illustrative examples can be quoted. I will only give some of those in which the property is more or less clearly defined :—

1680. We find Barbara Bragg right haire to her ffather John Bragg deceased of one Burgage lying in Haggett End with its "appurtinansis."

Ap 18 1681. We find William Grayson (has) right to one halfe Burgage att Green Dykes * as appears by deed from Robert Lindall, and William Lindall, date 26th day of July in the two and thirtieth year of his now Majesty's raigne, in the year of our Lord 1680. †

Dec. 1 1759. Enfranchisement from Charles Earl of Egremont to Joseph Roberts of all that Customary tenement at Egre-

* Green Dykes was situated just above the present Council School, and was at one time a "skin-yard," and later a thread mill. To-day there are seven new houses on the site.

† The monarch referred to is Charles II. The Commonwealth Period is ignored and his reign is counted from 1649, the year of the death of Charles I.

mont aforesaid near the Cross on the west side of Egremont Street consisting of a messuage and smithy with the yard, stable, garden and appurtenances thereunto belonging.

Oct 4 1765. Court Leet & View of Frankpledge.

We find Anthony Grayson, infant, and only son and heir of Anthony Grayson deceased for a "parcill" of a tenement called Palla-hatt, situate lying, and being within the Borough of Egremont of the yearly free and quit-rents; three shillings.

Also for another parcill of a tenement called Firtell fields (Fertile-fields) situate, lying, and being within the said Borough of the yearly free or quit rent of three shillings and fourpence.

Oct 24 1770. We find Thomas Towerson of Swain-side * for a Burgage situate lying and being at Egremont townhead having the grounds of John Bragg on the south west, the grounds of Joseph Dean Esq on the north, and the common Kelltrees on the east thereof by purchase from his father John Towerson of the yearly rent of one penny.

26 Ap. 1771. We find Mr. John Nicholson for his father's tanyard late his grandfather's John Nicholson.

25 Ap. 1772. We find Isaac Johnson for one Burgage called Hagget End Burgage by purchase from his father. Also an enfranchised tenement called Book Well Garth of the yearly free rent of one shilling.

May 10 1775. We find Isaac Grayson, oldest son and heir of John Grayson, Maltster, deceased for a Burgage standing and fronting the Town Street opposite the Market Cross by the payment of one penny yearly, Burgage Rent.

10 May 1775. We also find Thomas Benson of Cockermouth for a parcel of freehold ground consisting of three closes commonly called and known by the several names of Pallabutts, and Housesteads, formerly customary, but lately enfranchised by the late Lord Egremont to the late Mr. Robert Parker, officer of Excise, by purchase, from Mr. William Parker, his eldest son, and heir, by the payment of the yearly quit or free rent of four shillings and tenpence halfpenny.

18 Oct 1785. We find Elizabeth Howbridge free for a messuage house and land called Cringlethwaite by will from her father Moses Mossop of the yearly free rent of three shillings and fourpence.

25 Ap. 1787. We find Mr. Benson for a stint in Cowfield by purchase from William Haile, of Egremont, Townhead.

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* This is Swinside in Ennerdale.

24 Oct 1787. We find the Rev. Nicholas Turner, Rector of Egremont, free for one Burgage house, commonly called the Parsonage of the yearly quit or free rent of one penny.*

Oct 22. 1799. We find Benjamin Towerson free for a parcel of ground situate at Egremont Town head commonly called and known by name of Woodgate Tanyard.

Oct 22, 1799. We find John Mitchel free for a parcel of ground situate near Egremont purchased from Lowther Sherwen being part of the common lately belonging to Egremont at the yearly free rent of two shillings commonly called & known by the name of Ulcoates Mill.

Oct 25, 1805. We find Thomas Dalzell for a parcel of ground situate in Holsters near Moor Row by purchase from Abel Benn deceased of the yearly rent of one penny.

22 Ap. 1812. We find John Cook for half a Burgage house and hatter's shop down Hatters Lane† in the Borough of Egremont by purchase from William Benson, a freehold property, in the yearly rent of . . . . . .

Ap 29. 1817. We find Henry Eilbeck frèe for a Burgage house and garden commonly known by the name of Common Entry House by purchase from John Eilbeck of the yearly rent of one penny.

V.—Grants of land, usually common land, were made for the improvement of property, and also (and perhaps more frequently) for the establishment of local manufactures. These grants were not final. They were merely recommendations to the Lord of Egremont. In one place the words "grant and allow," put in by the jury, are struck out, and the words "do consent" are inserted and underlined by the steward (1714).

These three extracts refer to well known sites, and are excellent examples of this process of the court :—

15 Oct 1759. Whereas it has been represented to us that William Wennington of Egremont, Mercer, and John Towers of Whitehaven, Merchant, have also petitioned the Rt. Hon. the Earl of

* Nicholas Turner was here from 1787 to 1789. He exchanged livings with Robert C. Herbert.

† Hatters Lane connected the houses now on the road leading to the present bridge, with the former road to the old bridge. There was a hatter's business here till recent years.

Egremont, to grant them 20 yards in length and 7 yards in breadth, on a piece of waste ground on common, at the south east end of John Benson dyers ffulling mill, for the use of building a mill for the beating of hemp and flax, and also for building a Booking-house, and the washing and cleansing of linen yarn. And whereas the said William Wennington and John Towers have made this their request for the benefit & use of carrying on a manufactory for making sail cloth. And we find that the granting of the said piece of waste ground for the uses aforesaid will not be of any manner of prejudice, to us, or any of us, but of great benefit and advantage to the public in general.

Feb 18 1760. Indenture of lease of this date to Thomas Pool of Egremont and John Ponsonby of the same place, of all that piece of waste ground, in Egremont called Low Common containing one rood of land (a little more or less) bounded by the river Ehen on the East, by the ground of Peter Sherwen on the west, and containing about 100 yards in length, with liberty to cut and make a mill race through any conveneint part of the said waste ground, and to erect a water wear cross the said River Ehen, and to erect & build a mill or mills, for making of paper, and any other buildings and conveniences for carrying on the business of making paper. To hold 999 years from Michaelmas 1759 at a yearly rent of 10/- at Lady Day & Michaelmas by equal portions.

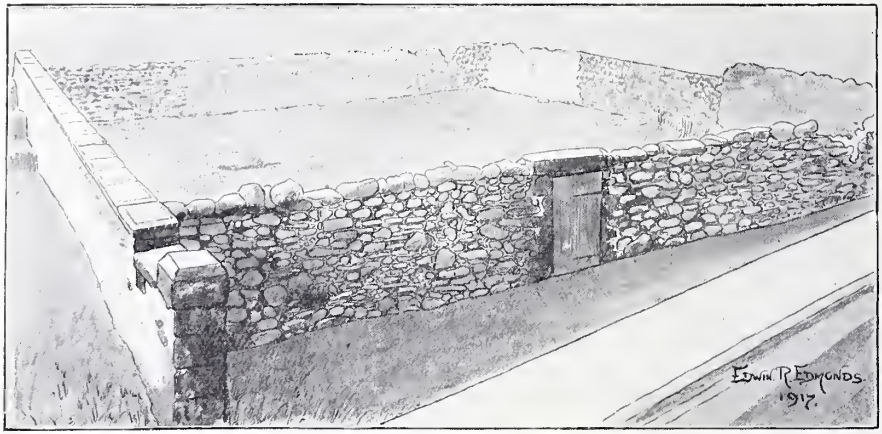
May 15 1810. Whereas it has been presented to us that Thomas Mathers Blacksmith has petitioned the Hon. G. O'Brien, Earl of Egremont to grant him a small piece of waste ground to build a blacksmith's shop, etc. commonly called by the name of St. Thomas Cross, adjoining the turnpike road in the borough of Egremont, we agree the said piece of ground will not be of any prejudice to us or any of us.

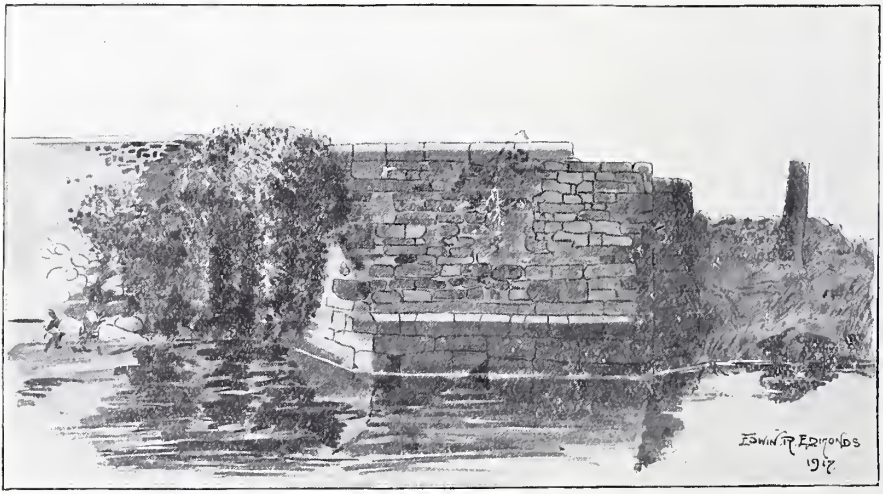
VI.—Some of the most interesting entries in the Court Rolls refer to the river Ehen and its bridges.

Not only were the fishing rights carefully guarded, but every interference with the purity of the water was punished as an offence.

Oct. 19. 1681. We do amerce Alexander Hazlop for lying (*sic*) hamp (hemp) in the river End. We do amerce the said Alexander 3s. 4d.

Sep 30. 1679. We do p'sent Thomas Littledaile for steeping lime in the river End, and do amercy him in 3s. 4d.





Egremont Pound, built about 1681.

A buttress of Burras Bridge (The Borough's Bridge) superseded 1822.

TO FACE P. 59

At the present time there is one principal bridge over the Ehen. It lies on the south end of the town on the road from Egremont to Calderbridge. It has two arches each about 35 feet across. This bridge was built in 1822, and the foundation is very deep in the gravel. An old bridge existed before this about 50 yards lower down the stream, just below the castle walls. A concrete footpath was laid down on the upstream side of the modern bridge in 1855, and the path on the downstream side was flagged in 1861.

The Borough Court records refer chiefly to four bridges: Burras bridge, Skitterbeck bridge, New bridge, and Roberts' bridge.

Burras-bridge (the Borough's Bridge) is doubtless the one superseded in 1822. Skitterbeck-bridge is the same as Skirtingbeck-bridge. Skirting-beck runs round the west side of the town. It was crossed by a bridge near Church-went under the shadow of the castle. The stream at that point is now covered in, and the bridge is, of course, abolished.* New Bridge was a wooden structure which has perished.

Roberts' Bridge is identified by two facts, viz.: (1), it led to Briscoe (entry Oct. 13, 1752), and (2), it was near High Steps (entry Ap. 29, 1726).†

There is a bridge named Roberts' Gate on the road from Haile to Calder Abbey, across the Black Beck. It is a single-arched bridge, about 10 feet span, and built mostly of heavy rubble masonry. The abutments were underset and protected in the year 1838. This bridge must not be confused with Roberts' Bridge at Egremont, which crossed the river between Sherwen's tannery (disused) and the Wyndham mine. It was swept away by a flood, and never restored. The Wyndham Mine Com-

* The remains of a bridge over this stream exist in the yard of a private house, but nothing is known of its date.

† High Steps were high crossing stones lying in the river.

pany has erected a wooden bridge quite close to the site. The stone foundations of Roberts' Bridge still remain in the river bank.

BURRAS BRIDGE.

Oct 12, 1683. We give Edward Benn, of this town, Dyer, 9 yeards in length, and 6 yeards in breadth on the north end of his now dwelling house which is part of a brow or hill, which is some part of an old dung hill stead on the north end of his house, for and in consideration of building one stone bridge called Burras Bridge, and the said Edward Benn, his heirs, and assignes for ever to repair the same when it shall happen to fall in daycay, and the said Edward Benn is to build a barne on the said nine yeards of ground.

SKITTERBECK BRIDGE.

Ap 12. 1710. We do give unto Isaac Pearson and his heirs for ever one small parcel of waste gıound commonly called and known by the name of Old Pinfold for the benefit of a tanyard the said Isaac Pearson and his heirs making & preserving the new stone bridge over the small river called Skitterbeck for ever where the old broken bridge now stands or may stand within the Burrough of Egremont.

NEW BRIDGE.

Oct 12 1711. We find Ellinor Patrickson the wife of John Patrickson for one free burgage messuage and tenement situate lying and being within the Burrough of Egremont late Francis Smith's, soe long as she the said Ellinor Patrickson makes repaire, and keepes sufficient, the wood bridge called & known by the name of New Bridge being left to her by her father Peter Woodall by his last will & testament she keeping the said bridge in sufficient repair as above-said.

ROBERTS' BRIDGE.—This bridge was founded by one Francis Smith, and was the cause of much litigation.

Ap. 29. 1726. We find Joseph Roberts son and heir to his father Michl. Roberts free for one free Burgage house and out-houses with all other parcels of land with the appurtenances left by Francis Smith,* for the building and for ever maintaining of

* Francis Smith appears in the list of Free Tenants in 1639. He was Borough Sergeant in 1641.

a bridge to carry loaden horses over the river End att a place called High Steps by his last will and testament bearing date the 6th of March 1658 so long as the said Joseph Roberts keeps up the aforesaid bridge in good and sufficient repair according to the true intent and meaning of the above mentioned will.

Ap 30 1745. Whereas Francis Smith late of Egremont, Tailor, in and by his last will and testament gave all his freehold estate of houses and lands, for the building and for ever maintaining one bridge over the river Ehen or End sufficient for a horse & a load to go over, and whereas Joseph Roberts is in possession of the houses & lands, and neglects & refuses to repair the said bridge, sufficient for a horse and load to go over, to the great damage of the public, and for such neglect do amercy the said Joseph Roberts one pound.

13 Oct. 1752. We present Joseph Roberts for neglecting to finish a stone bridge leading to Briscoe whereby it is not sufficient to go over to making husbandry, and amercy him £1 10. 0 if it be not sufficient against next court.

Ap 27 1763. We find Joseph Roberts eldest son and heir of Joseph Roberts deceased (for property) situate, standing, and being on the South side of the lane going to the church.

(Obligation to repair the bridge named.)

Sep 1774. We find John Roberts, eldest brother of Joseph Roberts for a burgage house and garden on the south side of Church lane and several closes of Briscoe late Francis Smith subject to and chargeable with a (bridge) Brigge over the River Ehn.

VII.—The Common Lands of the Egremont community occupy much space in the Court Rolls, especially Briscoe,* and Cowfield.

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* In very early times, Richard de Lucy, the Lord of Egremont, granted a part of the land lying between Crockerbeck (the name is now lost) and the rivulet of Coulderton, and called Brisco, to the Burgesses of Egremont. The witnesses to the instrument which conveyed this land were Henry Fitz Arthur, William Tisson, William de Bonvill, Robert Tisson, William Fitz Ketell, Richard Fitz Alan, Robert de Wiletun, Anketine Fitz Durant, Richard Tisson, and Adam de Haverington.

The Egremont people did not enjoy this grant in peace, but their right was challenged on this wise.

It appears that in the reign of Edward I (1272-1307) a dispute arose between Richard de Cleator and Thomas, the son of Lambert de Multon, the then Lord of Egremont, together with the Burgesses of Egremont, touching the above grant of land called Brisco. This suit was compromised by an indenture, which I reproduce at length in my volume on *Cleator and Cleator Moor*, p. 23. By this document Richard de Cleator surrendered his claim to Brisco, and the Lord of Egremont and the Burgesses conceded and granted to Richard de Cleator and his heirs common of pasture, throughout the whole year, for all kinds of animals upon Dent.

16 Oct. 1682. We doe apoynte John Seanhows Esquire of Seaskaille for graive to gether Briskey Rint for the two yeares next ensueing the date of this verdict.

12 Oct. 1690. We find William Johnson to be Grave to collect Briscc rent two years next ensuing.

12 Oct. 1694. We find William Skelton of Carleton to be Grave for the collecting of Brisca (sic) rents for the two years next ensuing.

2 Oct. 1702. We find John Barne to be Grave to collect Brisco rent for the next two years.

10 Oct 1710. We find Mr. Addison or his farmer to be Grave to gather the free rents in Briscoe for ye years 1711 and 1712.

30 April 1724. We do hereby order and agree that no person or persons shall att any time or times for ever hereafter between the 15th day of April and the 29th day of September heave or leave any sheep upon any part of that place called Brisco upon penalty of 10s for every default.

30 April 1790. We present John Dixon Flax-dresser on complaint, made upon oath, by John Palmer, John Pearson, and William Wallace, for not repairing his road upon Brisco, adjoining his lot of common, it being unpassable, for which we amerce him 10s.

Upon Brisco there was anciently a pasture called Cowfield. Each Burgage tenant was entitled to a "stint" upon this pasture. The stint was appurtenant to the Burgage. About 1790 the stints began to be separated from the Burgages, by purchase, and so gradually got into fewer hands. In 1810, Cowfield, by an agreement, was divided.

Oct 16 1684. We present Henry Walker for putting one stint in the Cowfield more than he has grassed for. 3s. 4d.

We present Thomas Wyly for putting in two stints more than he had grassed for. 6s. 8d.

We present Robert Harriman for putting in four stints more than he grassed for. 13s. 4d.

May 4 1685. Wee doe amercy Richard Skelton of Mid-towne for not hedgin one dickshayre * in the Cowfield and wee doe amercy him for so dowing.

* A dyke-share.

Other lands are referred to in these entries :—

May 4, 1685. Wee doe amercy Richard Skelton of Mid-towne for not hedgin his Crowedalow * hedge. Wee doe amercy him for the same 1s.

Wee doe amercy Anthony Grayson of Gillfoot for not hedgin his Crowdelow hedge & wee dioe amercy him for so dowing 1s.

Ap. 1 1687. Wee p.sent the heirs of Richard Skelton for not repairing his hedges in Croadallo and Wett-croft and amercy him in 3s. 4d.

Ap. 5 1689. Wee amercy Mr. John Williamson for ploughing a piece of ground called the Meckins and converting it to his own proper use the sum of xxxixs.

VIII.—Egremont had two Fairs held respectively on Whitsun-Tuesday, and September the 8th, the latter being known as Crab Fair. The origin of this latter name is now obscure, but it is probable that it was associated with the crab-apple, either by way of sale, or tithe, or again, possibly because crab-apples were used for pelting certain persons in horse-play.

At both fairs the burghers rode the boundary of the Borough, a practice which gradually diminished, until it was little more than a ride through the town. But in the Tudor and the Stuart days this cavalcade must have been a very picturesque and imposing sight.

In 1888 affidavits were made by two old men as to what they remembered of "riding the fair." Their statements are worthy of preservation and are as follows :—

Statements made by John Nicholson (aged 70) Borough Sergeant and Robert Eilbeck (aged 75) an old inhabitant of the Borough of Egremont.

1. John Nicholson says the Riding of the Fair commenced from the Public House whose turn it was to provide the victuals & drink at the Fair called Crab Fair and sports which are now held on the 18th of September every year.

"The Black Man" public house (now done away with) situate at the south end of the Main Street and on the East side of the street was the house that had the first claim of the Fair.

* This lies behind the present public offices. It is now spelt "Crowedalla."

The Borough Bailiffs, Borough Sergeant, and the Burghers of Egremont met at 2 o'clock (noon) and, with a fiddler on horse back, such of the Burghers who had horses rode, whilst the others walked up the Main Street of Egremont to Kitchen Green, which they rode round, & then returned by the same way until the turning of the road to Whitehaven, up which they rode until near the place where the cottage formerly, or Tollbar now, stands, when they entered Gill foot Park, and rode round a large stone in the Park.

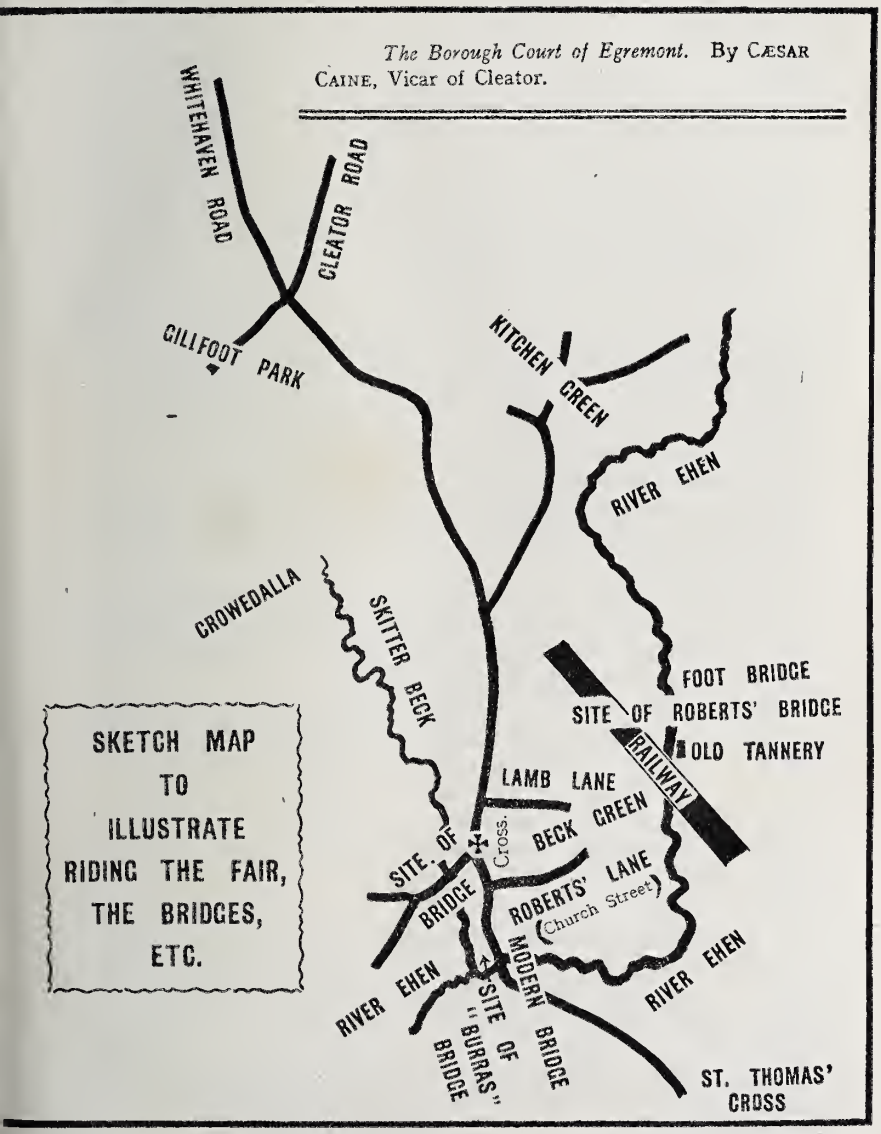
They then returned by the same way down the Main Street to Lamb Lane, and down the same lane to Beck Green, & turning round to the right at the present Gas-works, and along the road to a large stone which stood about the centre of the present vacant space at Beck Green, where the Proclamation was read. The procession then continued by Church Street to the Public House from which it started. After the riding was finished the usual sports commenced, when cattle were sold. At the Fairs they were driven into the field behind The King's Arms, and were tolled at the rate of 2d. a head. The cattle stood in the Main Street of Egremont from the old Hall to below The Globe hotel, or as near to these limits as the number of cattle shewn for sale admitted of. They were kept as much as possible on the sides of the street, so as to leave the centre of the road open to the public. The cattle were not fastened to stalls, but stood loose on the street, tended by the owners & others in their employ. Sheep were put into pens (which were provided by the respective publicans) kept opposite the public houses frequented by the owners of the sheep. The pens were fastened together, but the posts were not driven into the soil of the street. Stalls for the sale of gingerbreads and sweets and other things at the Whitsuntide and Martinmas Fairs stood on both sides of the Main Street, on the sides thereof, and paid from 2d to 6d each.

No one ever objected so far as he knows to the stalls being there. Never knew any owner or occupier of property charge or be paid for cattle or stall standing on their fronts, and the tolls taken on behalf of the Lord of the Borough of Egremont, by the officers appointed by the Borough Court Leet every year, were the only sums of money or tolls he ever knew to be paid.

Any damage done to the sides of the street at the Fairs was repaired by the Borough Sergeant.

2. Robert Eilbeck says the first time he rode the Egremont Fair was as the representative of his father who was a Burgher, which was about 45 years ago and he had attended the Riding of the Fair altogether three times.

The Borough Court of Egremont. By CÆSAR CAINE, Vicar of Cleator.



SKETCH MAP TO ILLUSTRATE RIDING THE FAIR, THE BRIDGES, ETC.

The procession started from "George the Fourth" hotel, a public house near the Market Cross, the first time he attended, and continued up the Main Street of Egremont to Gill foot Park, near to a large stone there, when the Roll of the Freeholders or Burghers was read over, and all that were not present were informed that their neglect or default would be presented at the next Court Leet for the Borough. After the roll was read they returned by the same way to the Lamb Lane, from thence to Beck Green, and then by Church Street to the public house from whence the procession first started.

The cattle on Fair days stood on both sides of the street, leaving the centre of the road as much open as possible. When the cattle were sold they were taken into the "King's Arms" field and tolled by the Borough Bailiff, but does not know the amount charged. The cattle stood from near the old Hall to below the Market Cross, or more or less in limit, according to the number of cattle brought to the Fair for sale.

He never heard that anyone ever claimed payment for cattle standing on their fronts, and the tolls taken by the Lord's Officers was the only money claimed by anyone in respect of cattle and stalls at the Fair.

Pens for sheep were placed on the sides of the street, opposite the public houses, but cattle were always loose upon the sides of the streets & not confined in any way but were attended by the owner or by persons in their employ.

8 May 1696. We order that all the Burrowmen and Burrow tenants be present to ridde our head fair which is upon the 8th of September, upon every default to be amerced in the sum of 6s. 8d.

We order that all the Burrowmen and Burrow tenants be sent to ridde our bounder upon White Sunday Tuesday next, upon every default to be amerced in 6s. 8d.

Those burgesses who neglected "ride the fair" were presented and fined. Those who had no horse to ride were expected to accompany the cavalcade on foot.

Oct. 18. 1796. We present the undermentioned people upon the complaint of Mr. Pool for neglecting to Ride the Fair

John Gale Esq.	John Peile, Surgeon.
Miles Ponsonby Esq.	Chas. Williamson.

Wm. Ritson.

who have a horse to ride upon, for which we amerce them in the sum of 1s.

Also we present

John Hewson	John Lowes and
Abagail Newton	Nicholas Thompson

for not attending, having no horse, for which we amerce them 6d. each.

Sometimes the list of delinquents is very long. Once the names number over thirty persons. The fines too are sometimes very heavy, and rise as high as ten shillings and sixpence.

The tolls collected at these fairs did not realize a large sum—only a few pounds—never more than six pounds. The expenses claimed nearly the whole sum. Any balance was retained by the Borough Sergeant as remuneration. A few years ago (1885) the rights of the fairs (and market) were conveyed by the Lord of Egremont to the Local Board, except the soil of the ground, mines, minerals, and mineral substances under the same.

The following abstracts relating to the weekly market show what acts were offences against market law. Neglect of the market bell was a serious offence.

Burgus de Egremond. Court held 17 Ap. 1691.

Ordered that no Bucher, town or contery, shall bring any dead calves into the market undressed upon paine 3s. 4d.

Ordered that no Bucher shall bring any muttons into the market, but some part of the skin shall hange to the head unto the knowledge* of the bell.

Ordered that no corne shall be sold before knowlinge of the bell in the market, upon paine of forfeiture, at or before eleven a clocke.

Burgus de Egremond. Court held 21 Oct. 1700.

We do order that no person nor persons that come to our markett on Saturday shall buy any goods there to be sold before the bell be knold by the Bailiffe against paine of 39s.

Oct 1 1710.

We present Robert Nicholson of Wasdale for bringing unlawful meat into the market to be sold 3s. 4d.

* Used in the sense of "hearing" the bell perhaps. It may be a miswriting of "knolling."

Oct 20 1714. We present Tho. ffenice for selling tobacco by short weight 3s. 4d.

We present Elinor Harrison for ye same offence 3s. 4d.

We present Dorothy Bratbery for the same offence 3s. 4d.

Oct 2. 1719. The Market Lookers present Jno Benn of Snelings for selling a sack of corn, in the topp whereof was good corn, ye bottom likewise good, and the middle much worse. We presume such practice is unlawful, therefore amerce him 3s. 4d.

We present Robert Postlethwaite of Drigg for selling potatoes in the Market before ringing of the Market bell.

We present William Whinery, Butcher, for laying lamb's fat upon a calf's kidney, 2s.

Ap 14, 1721. William Millikin and Joseph Williamson present Henry Nicholson of Eskdale for byeing butter before ye knowling of the bell, 1s.

Oct. 1729. We present Thomas Lucas, John Bragg, William Millikin, Nicholas Bragg, John Walton, Butchers, for killing and dressing cattle in the open street in the Borough town of Egremont, and for throwing and leaving great quantities of garbidge (garbage) and trash in the said town street, which said practice is a great and public nuisance, 6s. 8d.

May 14, 1794. We present John Jackson of Middle Bank and Isaac Adamson for buying and selling barley before the Market bell rung, on the 15th of February last, for which we amerce them 3s. 4d. each.

Oct 18 1796. We present Nicholas Fleming and Philip Boadle or buying and selling corn in the market on the 21st of May last before the bell rung for which offence we amerce them in the sum of 17s. each.

IX.—Associated with the market is the Market Cross.* The head of the cross had disappeared as early as the seventeenth century and the standard was used as a sun-dial. The iconoclasts of the Reformation were possibly responsible for the loss of the cross-head.

12 Oct. 1683. We consent for Wm Grayson of Heile-bancke within this Borough free liberty (of waste land?) 8 yards long adjoining to his house at Heile-bancke, for to build upon, he for and in consideration hereof is to set a brass dial upon the Borough

* Illustrated and described by Dr. C. A. Parker in these *Transactions*, N.S. ix, 80-82.

Cross and for ever more after the said William Grayson, his heirs and assigns, are to repair the said cross and to joint the same when it shall happen to fall out of repairs and into decay.

Other abstracts indicate a sustained anxiety of the Borough Court respecting this venerable stone.

Ap. 12 1710. We order the Borough Sergeant repair the Market Cross with such things as are needful.

May 11. 1808. We present the Surveyor of the Highways for not keeping the Market Cross in good repair. We amerce them in the sum of 39s. 11½d: in case the same is not repaired before the 21st day of June next.

May 15 1810. We present the Surveyors of the Highways for not keeping the Market Cross in good and sufficient repair by order of Dr. Steele.

Oct 24 1821. We present the inhabitants of Egremont for not keeping in good order and repair the Market Cross and we do amerce them in the sum of £10 in case the same is not repaired before the next court.

The cross was really kept in repair by the Lord of Egremont. If other persons performed the work this was in service to the lord for privileges granted to them by him for this specific duty.

X.—I find only one reference to the public Stocks :—

May 1 1795. We present the Borough Sergeant, Mr. Jonathan Sharp, for not repairing the stocks for which he collected one purvey amounting to 10s. and 2d. and has not done anything further respecting the business for which we amerce him 3s. 4d.

XI.—The old Pinfold built soon after 1680 still stands near the gasworks. The references to it in the Court Records are very numerous.

I will subjoin a few abstracts each touching upon some particular and separate matter connected with this site.

The first refers to the old earth-built pinfold, in use prior to the building of the present enclosure :—

Oct. 23 1677. We p'sent John Skaif for rescourseing several sheepe from the Burrough Bayliffes as they were conveying them to the Pinfold, in the sum of viiis. and iiiid.

Court held Oct. 17, 1681. The jury presented as follows:—Whereas there is a great necessity of a sufficient pinfold to be had for the said Burrough and Town of Egremont to be made with lime and stone, and the Burrough Bailiffes for the year being, are not bound to build one with lime and stone, but only repaired the said pinfold for the year being with earth only,* and the said pinfold being broken and cast downe every yeare by evil persons who kept unlawful goods (though unknown) to the great loss and damage of the said town and burrough. We, therefore, the said jurie for the public good of our town and burrough doe give and grant on behalf of the whole town and burrow aforesaid to our well beloved friend and Burrowman, John Williamson, of Egremont aforesaid, Batchlor, two pieces of Burrow common waists (wastes) or meane (mesne ?) ground called Low Ridding Nooke, and Greenthwaite Nooke, which adjoin the said John Williamsons ground, containing by estimate one acre, or thereabouts, to him, his assigns, for ever, for and in consideration of building a common pinfold two yards high, in wall, and as large in compass as the said now hedged pinfold doth contain, with one year, more or less, he, the said John Williamson, his heirs, and assigns paying unto the Lord of the fee thereof the annual quit rent of one penny.

And further we the said jury do order that the said John Williamson doe build the said common pinfold, near to the pinfold now, being within the said Burrow at his proper costs and charges at our before the first day of May next following, with a hewen stone, door cheekes in the same, and the water to run the said pinfold: To have and to hold the said two pieces of Burrow common wastes or meane ground unto the said John Williamson, his heirs and assigns, and to the sole and proper use and behoofe of him the said John Williamson his heirs & assigns for ever for & in consideration of building the said common pinfold as aforesaid.

Given under our hands, and seals the day & year first written above.

John Kelswicke	William Grayson
Isaac Grayson	Henry Jackson
Richard Walker	Edward Nicholson
Robert Harriman	John Johnson
Joseph Benson	Thomas Sheppard
John Patrickson	Edward Benn
Thomas Littledale	Nicholas Wilson

Richard Oyes

* The site of this old pinfold was given away in 1710 to Isaac Pearson on condition he repaired Skitterbeck bridge.

Ap 25 1712. It is agreed by the present jury that a new door shall be made for ye pinfold and be paid for att ye charges of ye Burrow.

Oct. 28 1780. Upon the oath of Wm Tyson we present Isaac Grayson and Wm Barras being persons duly appointed & qualified to the office of Borough Baliffs for not finding & procuring a key and lock for the pinfold when requested, and necessity required.

28 May, 1868. Joseph Head Pinfold Keeper for the ensuing year.

26 May, 1871. James Marshall Pinfold Keeper for the ensuing year.

26 May 1876: Mr. Porter complains that the ancient water course which used to run through the pinfold has been obstructed or diverted and proposes that a Committee be appointed to examine into the matter: we having considered his complaint do appoint Mr. Porter, Mr. Coulthard, and Mr. Iredale, and the Hedge and Ditch Lookers (Isaac Benson, and Christopher McClellan) to be a Committee for the purpose, and we enjoin the Committee to report to the Steward within one month from this date, and if the complaint is reported to be well founded, we request the steward to take such steps as may be necessary on behalf of the Lord of the Manor to have it remedied.

Similar entries continue up to 1899.

XII.—I will conclude this paper by a few abstracts shewing the great variety of pleas considered and decided by this court. There are hundreds of such entries and they illustrate the daily life of the people most vividly:—

9th. year Henry VIII.

1.—John Ben brings a plea against Robert Rwaynson in a plea of debt for 16d. Defen^{t} denies. By the inquisition pltff. recovers 16d. and therefore he (Def.) is in mercy.

2.—It was found by the Inquisition that they made a presentment in the matter of William Moll for breaking the house of John Copland contrary to the penalties.

3.—John Quydsyde * for dead vert. †

4.—Elsabeth Rede, Jenet Tubman for the same, (and) for

* This is apparently meant for Whiteside.

† *Mort ver.* is the usual documentary phrase for *dead wood.* There were special regulations respecting dead wood in the forests, etc.

buying and selling with manor swans,* and occupying the mill in an unlawful manner.

1640.

1.—John Noble because he keeps painted cards in his house contrary to the statute. Therefore he is in the mercy of the lord 10s.

2.—Isaak Antrobus for a defect in his enclosure, 3s. 4d.

3.—Christopher Wilkinson for burning a kiln contrary to the penalties, 6s. 8d.

4.—Lucie Coutman for shedding the blood of Richard Benson 3s. 4d.

5.—James Pearson for calling Francis Smith† a snivelling dog 3s. 4d.

9 May 1679. We p'sent Annas Gunson widow for saying to the Constables when they did demand one penny halfpenny, which she was assessed, that the constables did not add to the 'sesse two pence 3s. 4d.

Aug 18. 1680. We do order and think it fitt that whosoever graveth any peats in Blackmoss or Moss Dals that the same menn shall sett and fill up the potts where the peat is graven, or cause to be soe sett or filled upon the payne of 3s. 4d.

12 Oct 1690.

1.—Wee p'sent William Grayson of Healbancke for hirding his cattle in Goose Knott Wood and amercy him 6s. 8d.

2.—Wee doe amarcy Thomas Stenton of Flatfellend for pulling of Brathons (Brackons) on Dint in the sum, 6s. 8d.

Ap. 2. 1716. Mr. John Robertson presents to us a sand hole under the King's Street by William Coats, shoemaker, and for not filling up the said sandhole, we amercy the said William Coats, 2s. 0d.

Oct 22 1753. We p'sent Danill Dixon upon the oath of John Grayson for a nuisance in suffering his hedge to lie down & to go out of repair betwixt the ground of Daniel Dixon called Crook of River and the ground of John Bragg (Maltster) called Head-a-Busk within the Borough & for which we amerce him in the sum of 13s. 4d. if not repaired on or before . . . . . .

Oct 8 1764. We p'sent Henry Rothery of Low Mere Beck in the Manor of Kinniside for digging and graving peats and turf upon a common called Dint having no right so to do for which we amerce him in the sum of one shilling.

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* That is, dealing in manor swans.

† For Francis Smith see note under Robert's Bridge.

Oct 14 1766. We present John Jackson of Wood end upon the oath of John Benson for a nuisance in making up a gate across the common highway leading from Egremont to Moor Row between two closes called Jonney Gards, used for carts and carriage, with stowers * and raddling,† and hanging a small low gate whereby His Majesty's Leige subjects cannot pass & repass with their carts and carriages as usual, and we amerce him, 3s. 4d.

Oct 24. 1770. It is agreed by this present Jury that no persons whatever cut any spelks, underwood, and Hedge Boot,‡ within the liberty of the Borough of Egremont, but the Burgesses only. Any other person doing the same to be amerced in the sum of ten shillings.

April 26. 1771. We present Margaret the wife of William Smith, on the oath of David Sanderson, for a nuisance in digging up the highway leading from the turnpike road over the Herbert Hill to Stuarding Gate, and making pits for getting sand and thereby rendering the highway dangerous and unpassable for which we amercy the said Margaret, 3s. 4d. Affeered to 1s.

May 10. 1775. Whereas great abuses, and it is become a common nuisance, by keeping loose swine and ferry§ sows, and pigs in the town street of Egremont: We, the present jury, order and agree that no persons or inhabitants in the town of Egremont, shall for the future keep any loose swine in the town street,‖ but in hulls, or yards, upon pain of 10/- for every offence.

May 4 1778. We present Thomas Leech, Miller, at Little Mill, upon the oaths of William Barras, John Ponsonby, Benj. Bragg, and John Benson, for a nuisance in suffering his mill race from Winder Hedge, at the bottom of Winder through Cowfield bottom, to Black Moss, to grow up, and for neglecting to scour and open the said Mill race, from which neglect the water overflows Boggs, and down Cowfield bottom, to the great detriment of the erbidge (? herbage) and pasturige (pasturage) thereof, for which nuisance, and neglect we amerce the said Thomas Leech, if not satisfactorily opened, scoured, and deepened from Winder Hedge to

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* Stowers: side posts.

† Raddling: thorns and withy branches which are raddled into a gap.

‡ Bote.—There is house-bote, hedge-bote, and plough-bote, etc. which are privileges granted for tenants to cut wood to repair houses, ploughs, hedges, etc.

§ That is farrow sows—sows not breeding.

‖ The repeated notices about the keeping of pigs in the town indicate that the Borough about this time must have been in a deplorably insanitary condition. Some items are hardly fit for re-production.

Blackmoss, five quarters wide,* and sufficient wears † made on the low side of the said mill race, where the water breaks through, and overflows, against the first day of July next, in the sum of 39s. 11d.

There is one other fact which must not be overlooked. The Borough Court of Egremont had control of the Fairs, Market and Market Cross at Ravenglass and probably, to some extent, of the shipping there. But this is really a separate subject and shall be reserved for another paper.

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* The quarter means a quarter of a yard, *i.e.*, 9 inches. Thus 5 @ 9 = 45 inches. In other words the race was to be 3 feet 9 inches wide in the clear.

† Wears=banks.

Art. V.—*Dr. Todd's Account of the City and Diocese of Carlisle.* By J. H. Martindale, F.R.I.B.A.

Read at Carlisle, April 26th, 1917.

In our Tract Series, No. 5, the Editor, the late Chancellor Ferguson, enumerates five MS. copies of Todd's "Account" as known to exist, and then goes on to say, "another copy of this tract must lurk somewhere, for Jefferson, in his Leath Ward, quotes from Todd's History of the Diocese, passages not in this copy." The passages referred to are the following and relate to the visit of Charles II on the 6th August, 1651:—

Advancing this way from Scotland towards Worcester the then sheriff and those who had the power of the country, never so much as attempted to engage any part of his army, or in the least to disturb his progress; but opened their ranks and suffered him to pass through, without any molestation. Only, as soon as his dissatisfied and ill-disciplined troops were gone, and all danger blown over, the committees and their officers re-assemble and re-assume their former authority, and levy severe fines and punishment upon all such as had shown any duty and respect to their distressed sovereign, particularly four or five ladies of quality (whose husbands had either been killed in the wars, or had fled from home for fear of the usurpers), being together in a conspicuous place, and the king taking notice of them, alighted from his coach to salute them, had an additional imposition clapped upon their sequestered estates, as the price and value of a royal kiss in the judgment of these rebellious republicans (*Leath Ward*, p. 23).

Mr. Todd, the rector, had the honour to wait on his majesty. The Lady Fletcher (whose husband had been slain at the battle of Rowton-moor near Chester) sent refreshments to his Majesty and the attendants. The rector informed Charles that he had been ejected from his living and imprisoned at Carlisle for his allegiance to his Majesty and for the private exercise of some functions of

his sacred office. The king, who looked very pale and pensive, was seated in a coach with some of the Scotch nobility, intent on a map of the country which was spread before him; he charged him to continue in his duty and expressed a hope that better times would soon follow. His Majesty was guarded by a body of Highlanders (*ibid.*, pp. 425, 426).

I have lately had placed in my hands, from Mrs. McCullock, of Bowness-on-Solway, a MS. copy of Dr. Todd's book which, I think, is not one of those mentioned by Chancellor Ferguson as existing, and therefore might be the missing one; but on examination, I find it does not contain the above extracts. In fact, in conjunction with Tract No. 5, it seems only to describe events to about 1641; the above extracts refer to events ten years later. This rather points to Jefferson having had some continuation or "later edition" of Todd's manuscript.

There are, however, some important variations in the copy now discovered. The writing is all in one hand. It is written on foolscap about 12¼ inches by 7¾ inches. The MS. occupies thirty-six pages with three blank leaves at the end. The printed Tract occupies thirty pages, in which the Dedication is not included. The title page has the following:—

An
Historical account of the City of Carlisle
From its first foundation to this Present time,
Extracted out of Records and Histories
both Antient and Modern
By Hugh Todd, D.D. Prebendary of Carlisle
Rector of Arthuret, and Vicar of Penrith in
Cumberland.
Transcribed in the year 1754.

In the dedication, which is practically the same as our Tract Series No. 5, pp. vii, viii, or the Dean and Chapter copy, instead of "James Nicholson, Esq. Mayor," we have "Thomas Pattinson, Esq. Mayor." James Nicholson was mayor in 1699, and Thomas Pattinson in 1732

and 1742 (*Whellan*, p. 136). Dr. Todd died in 1728. Thomas Pattinson was the mayor who had great disputes with the Dean and Chapter, though I hardly think with Dr. Todd himself. He was a publican, and occupied the Old Bush Hotel, Scotch Street.

The present MS. is a better and more complete copy than either Mr. Watson's or Miss Steel's (numbered respectively 4 and 5 by Chancellor Ferguson in his Introduction to Todd's "Account," our Tract Series No. 5, p. vi) and though it has variations as mentioned above, it may still have been copied from the Dean and Chapter copy, which Chancellor Prescott thinks is in Dr. Todd's own handwriting.

Mrs. McCullock traces her MS. as handed down from her great grandfather, Ar. Graham, born about 1775, whose mother was a Hodgson from Kirkandrews-on-Eden. This brings us very near the date when it was written.

ART. VI.—*Ancient Oak, recently restored to St. Mary's, Carlisle.* By J. H. MARTINDALE, F.R.I.B.A.

Read at Carlisle, April 26th, 1917.

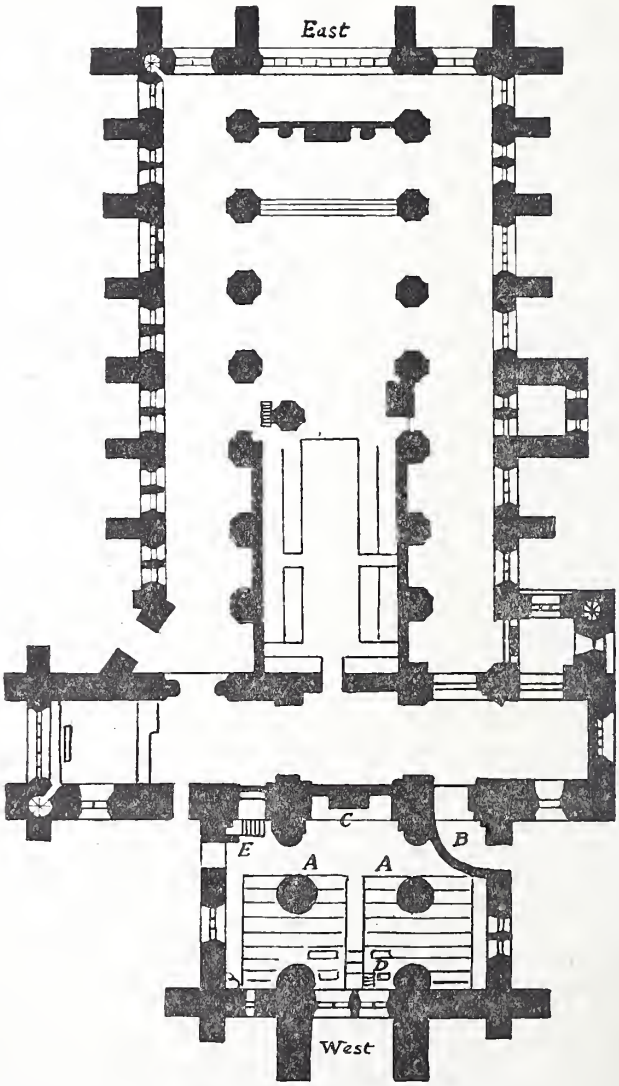
THE Central Control Board, when altering some of the premises acquired by them in Carlisle, handed over to the vicar and churchwardens of St. Mary's, Carlisle, a quantity of oak panelling, etc., which had probably been removed at some time from the Cathedral. The oak, when it was adapted for hotel purposes, has been cut up, copied, and added to, so that now it is a little difficult to identify or describe the various positions in the Cathedral it may formerly have occupied. It is reputed to have been removed from the nave of the Cathedral, when it ceased to be used as the church of St. Mary, and seems to me chiefly work of about the date 1764 by Bishop Lyttleton. I may be addressing some who can remember old St. Mary's ; but for the sake of the younger members of our Society, I will briefly explain the parts of the Cathedral used for that purpose.

In some monastic houses for Regular Canons, the nave of the church was reserved for the use of the laity and had a separate altar. The division was marked by a second screen, frequently placed at the western bay of the crossing or even further west ; and in these churches with two screens, the eastern one formed the chancel-screen or entrance to the choir of the Canons, and the western one, the rood-screen or east end of the lay or parish portion of the monastic church. In pre-reformation days this was probably the case at Carlisle. The western screen was usually solid and some 15 or 20 feet high, with two doors in it. At Carlisle the rood-screen was in post-reformation days (I cannot give the exact date, but the arch over the

chancel-screen was closed up in 1764) closed up to the level of the capitals of the Norman arch of the crossing, and a ceiling placed over the nave about this level. Also the arches of the north and south aisles into the transepts were closed and an external door for access was made in the north wall. The old door from the eastern walk of the cloister to the south aisle was retained for the use of the canons and as main entrance to the choir, by forming a curved inner porch or screen. This arrangement left the two undestroyed bays of the nave with the aisles to form the church of St. Mary. No doubt at first the ancient altar, against the rood-screen, would be used for the parish altar. In fact, that this was the case is quite clear from the report of the architect in 1870, where he recommends "the ancient altar platform and step should be left as an historical record of the past uses of the nave, making good the wall at the back and filling in any deficiencies in the steps."

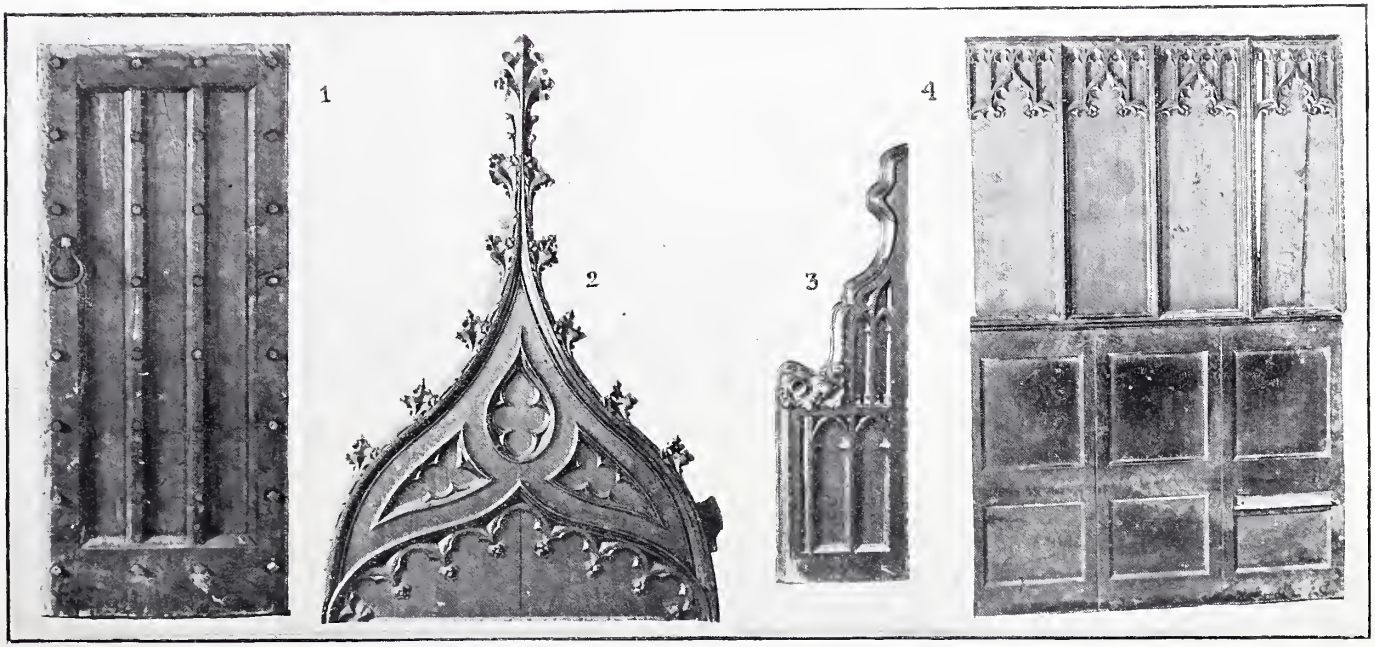
An engraving in "the Border Antiquities of England and Scotland," dated 1813, shows the pulpit against the south-eastern pier of the nave with an open roof. The engraving in Winkles' "Cathedrals," published about 1835, shows the pulpit under the west windows, and a ceiling as mentioned above.

About 1813 or 1814 the vicar and churchwardens applied for a faculty to erect galleries, the reason urged for this being that the floor of the church was very damp. A faculty was granted and galleries were placed over the north and south aisles and across the *east end*. The pulpit seems now to have been moved to the west end, and I presume the congregation sat facing west. That the altar was not moved at this time seems quite clear from the report quoted above. The access to the galleries was by a staircase in the eastern bay of the north aisle, near the new door. I believe the seats in the galleries were actually sold and conveyed to individuals as private pro-



CARLISLE CATHEDRAL
(from Winkles)

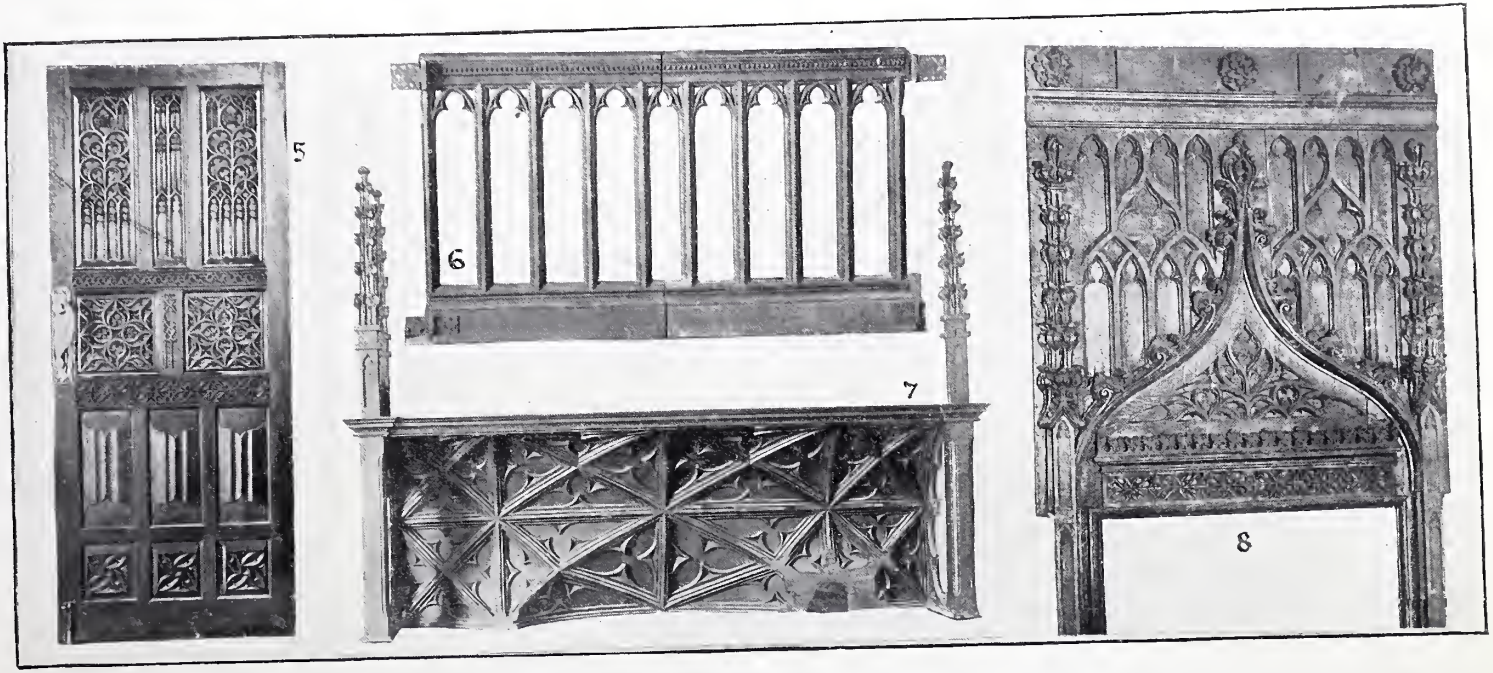
0 50 100 ft.



OLD OAK, RESTORED TO ST. MARY'S, CARLISLE.

Phot. by F. W. Tassell.

TO FACE P. 81.



OLD OAK, RESTORED TO ST. MARY'S, CARLISLE.

TO FACE P. 81.

Phot. by F. W. Tassell.

perty; the front seat in the end gallery was priced at £60, and the others from £50 down to £30 according to position and size.

You will now be able to form your own opinion as to the fitting up of the interior and the positions the oak may have occupied.

Description of the Plates.

A ground plan of the Cathedral from Winkles' "Cathedrals," showing the nave (AA) as St. Mary's by the blocking up of the western arch of the crossing and the arch of the north aisle, also the curved porch (B) in the south aisle, retaining the south door as principal entrance to the Cathedral. The altar in the nave is shown in the normal position against the screen (C), the pulpit under west window (D) and the stair to the gallery (E) in the east end of the north aisle.

Fig. 1.—Part of the right-hand half of a double or folding door. This has had an arched head and may be the south door to the Cathedral from the eastern walk of the cloister.

Fig. 2.—A pediment, of which there are also two similar but smaller.

Fig. 3.—Bench-end from an open seat; there has probably been another piece dowelled to the back to house the book-board; the elbow is well carved and the sunk tracery is repeated on the inside.

Fig. 4.—Two distinct pieces of framing, one on the top of the other. There is a large quantity of such. The upper part is the front desk of seats facing a passage or aisle and the lower part is the back or division of box-pews, which might be from the gallery.

Fig. 5.—A door. The five top panels and two rails are made up with tracery panels of Prior Gondibour's date and very similar in character to the screen forming present entrance to St. Catherine's chapel; the lower panels are linen-pattern of later date.

Fig. 6.—The gates of an altar-rail. There is also a single piece about 14 feet long.

Fig. 7.—The vaulted ceiling or canopy of a recess. It has been laid on its side and the pinnacles are not in proper position. The crown is cut out of a solid balk and the back shows the gouge marks. There is another small piece but not so good.

Fig. 8.—This pediment and tracery has been fitted over the

last mentioned door, but it is very doubtful if the connection is original.

In addition to the above there is a considerable quantity of wall-panelling or solid parclose screen-work of not very early date, together with a number of pinnacles and other fragments of screen-work.

ART. VII.—*On the McMechan Chap-Books in the Jackson Library, Carlisle.* By HENRY BARNES, M.D., LL.D.

Read at Carlisle, April 26th, 1917.

A CHAP-BOOK is defined in Halliwell's *Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words* as "a little book printed for the purpose of being sold by hawkers," and in Slater's *Library Manual* it is described as "a small book or pamphlet carried about for sale by hawkers." In these *Transactions*, O.S. xiv and xvi, the late Chancellor Ferguson published a full account of the Chap-Books then in the Jackson Library. Most of the books described by him contain only 8 pages, but a few have 24 pages; nearly all have a woodcut on the title page, and where a date is given it is either in the last decade of the eighteenth or the first two decades of the nineteenth century. Several of these have been printed in various towns in Cumberland, and the Chancellor has given us an account of many early Cumberland printers.

About four years ago the late Mr. Thomas McMechan of Wigton, founder, publisher, and printer of the *Wigton Advertiser*, sent me a collection of Chap-Books which he wished to be added to the Jackson Library. They are 44 in number, all in excellent condition. Many of them, in addition to the woodcut on the title-page, contain several other illustrations. Only one of them bears a date, viz.: 1856. It is entitled "History of the Kings and Queens of England from William the Conqueror to the present time." It is probably one of the last of the Chap-Books published. All the others I should judge to be of a much earlier date. Many of them I recognise as familiar friends of my early days. I have a distinct recollection of how we enjoyed in the winter evenings

such stories as The Life of Richard Turpin, a most notorious Highwayman; The History of Whittington and his cat; The History of Jack and the Beanstalk; The Voyages and Travels of Sinbad the Sailor and some others.

Several of them contain matters of local interest. The first of these is "The Life and Adventures of David Haggart," written by himself while under sentence of death. It describes the career of a notorious criminal who visited various towns in England, Scotland, and Ireland, committing numerous robberies, and was finally arrested for the murder of a warder at Dumfries, tried at Edinburgh, and executed.* He says he visited Carlisle with a fellow criminal after some successful work in the south of Scotland, but they only stayed here four weeks, did not attempt any business, but amused themselves with riding in the morning and passed the evening at gambling-houses, and twice or thrice went to dances. They then went to Kendal where they found themselves £43 richer by one transaction. 2.—"The History of Sir William Wallace, the renowned Scottish Champion" is worthy of notice. It relates many wonderful stories of Wallace's exploits, in which he defeated the English in several combats, chased them almost entirely out of Scotland, and describes how he even marched into England, laid Cumberland and Northumberland waste and humbled the English. 3 and 4.—The "Sins and Sorrows spread before God," a sermon by the Rev. Isaac Watts, D.D. and is embellished by a portrait presumably of the author; and there is also a collection of "Divine Songs for the use of Children" by the same Dr. Watts, author of the well-known hymns "Let dogs delight to bark and bite," and "How doth the little busy bee." I think the publisher must have been greatly enamoured of the portrait because he takes it to illustrate the "History of Mahomet,

* Readers of George Borrow's *Lavengro* will remember the passage about David Haggart (chap. VIII) which suggests Borrow's knowledge of this chap-book as well as his early personal acquaintance with Haggart.

the great Imposter." The same portrait is put on the title-page of three other Chap-Books, viz.: "History of the Life and sufferings of the Rev. John Welsh, sometime Minister of the Gospel at Ayr," "The Life and wonderful Prophecies of David Cargill, who was executed at the Cross at Edinburgh on the 26th of July, 1680, for his adherence to the Covenant and work of the Reformation," and "A choice drop of honey from the Rock of Christ or a short word of advice to saints and sinners," by Thomas Willcocks. 5.—"The Life and meritorious Transactions of John Knox the Great Scottish Reformer." His story is probably familiar to all and needs no comment. 6.—"History of the Life and Death of the great Warrior Robert Bruce King of Scotland" has a striking woodcut of a combat on its title page, which probably represents the fight between an English knight, Henry de Bohun, and the Scottish king at the battle of Bannockburn, which is fully described in the text. 7.—"The History of Prince Charles Edward Stuart, commonly called the Pretender" describes how Charles invested Carlisle in November, 1745, with an army of 5,000 men, how the city surrendered in less than three days, and how his father was proclaimed king of England and himself Regent, "by the Magistrates in all their formalities." A full account of the march to Penrith and the subsequent campaign is given. 8.—"The National Songster or Comic and Sentimental Songs for the Million" is not an uncommon form of Chap-Book and a perusal shows that its title is fully justified.

Only two printers' names are to be found on the title pages; J. Brydon, Edinburgh, is responsible for the "History of Columbus"; Francis Orr and Sons, Glasgow, are put down for two, viz.: "The History of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob," and "Divine Songs for Little Children." The rest have the imprint "Glasgow: printed for the Booksellers."

The following is a complete list: 1.—The History of

Columbus the Discoverer of America. 2.—Ali Baba and the forty thieves. 3.—The History of Cinderella or the little glass slipper, to which is added the Babes in the Wood. 4.—A Prayer Book for families and Private Persons. 5.—The History of Joseph and his brethren, embellished with cuts, to which is added the Life, Journeyings, and Death of the Apostle Paul. 6.—The Voyages and Travels of Sinbad the Sailor. 7.—The History of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, embellished with cuts, to which is added an account of Jonah's Mission to the Ninevites. 8.—The Pilgrim's Progress from this world to that to which is to come. 9.—The Life and Adventures of David Haggart, written by himself while under sentence of death, with an account of his execution. 10.—The History of the Kings and Queens of England from William the Conqueror to the present time. 11.—The Song Book, a choice collection of songs, duets, and glees, sung at different places of public amusement. 12.—The Wife of Beith,* being an allegorical Dialogue containing nothing but what is recorded in Scripture. 13.—The Life and meritorious Transactions of John Knox, the Great Scottish Reformer. 14.—History of the Life and Sufferings of the Rev. John Welsh, sometime Minister of the Gospel at Ayr. 15.—The Spacwife or Universal Fortune Teller wherein your future welfare may be known by Physiognomy, Cards, Palmistry and Coffee grounds. Also a distinct Treatise on Moles. 16.—The True Fortune Teller or Universal Book of Life. 17—The Story Teller. The Murder Discovered. The Widow and her son. Encounter with a lion. The Soldier's Wife. The Conflict between Grant and M'Pherson, at Hell Bridge, a dangerous pass in the Highlands of Scotland. 18.—The Art of

* *Sic.* The opening lines of the text are :—

"In Beith once dwelt a worthy wife
Of whom brave Chaucer mention makes."

Chaucer, of course, wrote of "The wife of Bath." Beith is a market town in North Ayrshire about 18 miles s.w. of Glasgow, where the chap-book was printed.

Swimming rendered easy by Dr. B. Franklin. 19.—The national Songster, or Comic and sentimental Songs. 20.—The Popular Songster, a collection of favourite songs. 21.—Mother Bunch's Golden Fortune Teller. 22.—A Choice drop of Honey from the Rock of Christ by Thomas Willcocks. 23.—Sins and Sorrows spread before God, a Sermon by the Rev. Isaac Watts. 24.—Divine Songs for the Use of Children by I. Watts, D.D. 25.—History of Sir William Wallace, the Renowned Scottish Champion. 26.—History of the Life and Death of the Great Warrior Robert Bruce, King of Scotland. 27.—A Token for Mourners with a selection of Scripture Promises relative to the troubles of Life. 28.—The Life and Prophecies of Alexander Peden. 29.—The Life of Richard Turpin, a most notorious Highwayman. 30.—The History of Prince Charles Edward Stuart, commonly called the Pretender. 31.—A Tale of the Rebellion of 1745, or the Broken Heart, to which is added the Three Wishes and the Adventures of two Teetotallers. 32.—The Life and Wonderful Prophecies of Donald Cargill who was executed at the Cross of Edinburgh on the 26th of July, 1680, for his adherence to the Covenant and work of the Reformation. 33.—The History of Mahomet, the Great Imposter. 34.—History of James Allan, the celebrated Northumberland Piper. 35.—The famous History of Valentine and Orson. 36.—History of the Kings and Queens of England from the Reign of William the Conqueror to Victoria the first, Part I. 37.—History of the Kings and Queens of England and Scotland, Part II. 38.—The Way to Wealth or Poor Richard's Maxims improved, etc. 39.—The History of Moses, embellished with cuts. 40.—The History of Whittington and his cat and the Story of Puss in Boots. 41.—The History of Jack and the Beanstalk. 42.—The History of the Black Douglas with an account of the Battle of Otterburn. 43.—The History of Napoleon Bonaparte. 44.—The Life and History of Mary Queen of Scots.

Art. VIII.—*Knitting-Sticks.*

By C. A. Parker, M.D., F.R.C.S.E.

Read at Carlisle, April 26th, 1917.

THE thirty-six knitting-sticks hereunder noted, twenty-eight of which are illustrated, were all seen in or near to Gosforth, though many owe their origin to distant parts of the county, or even beyond its boundary. They form a good series, dating from the middle of the eighteenth century to the present day, and differing much in shape, size, and ornamentation. The dates given are as far back as each specimen can be traced, but some may be earlier. Chancellor Ferguson (these *Transactions*, o.s., vi, 92), mentions a stick dated 1722. The drawings are all on the same scale, except No. 10, which is 2/3 the scale of the others.

Sticks were worn stuck in the belt or apron-string, on the right-hand side, to support in the hole at the end one of the short knitting-needles then in use. This was the free needle on which the row was to be knitted. It would be impossible to knit with the stick on the other side. Many are notched, grooved, or slotted to catch the apron-string, No. 12 having four grooves. The slot was on the outer face. When work was over, hollow bone caps connected by elastic were slipped over the ends of the needles to save the knitting bag (No. 23).

There are four main varieties of sticks—the carved, the dagger-shaped, the heart-shaped, and the turned. The heart-shaped sticks do not occur in the district. Being very small and their use not very apparent, they would be easily lost ; also they were copied in tin, and finally degenerated into the quilted quill still in use pinned to the dress of the knitter (No. 16).

No. 1, one of the oldest, stands by itself. A straight square rod of dark oak, slightly hollowed on one side and having a diagonal slot on the opposite. The lady who lent it to me averred that it belonged to her great-great-great-grandmother, Anne Robinson of Brougham, which puts it back to 1770 at least. It may be older, for it looks like the patriarch of its kind.

The hollow leads on to the carved series, all more or less curved to fit the figure, though No. 2, perhaps by mistake, is curved the wrong way. In four specimens the wood at the top has been laboriously chipped away to form a cage containing a loose ball. One of these has metal round the top (3) and Nos. 5, 6, 7, 8, have deep slots adapted more for a waist-belt than an apron-string. Waists were worn high then, 1775-1789. The inner concave face has as a rule little carving but the others are highly ornamented, mostly with a multitude of triangles, nicks and crosses, though No. 7 has hearts, flowers and birds. Nos. 5 and 7 are dated. Often the initials of the lady owner appear, and no wonder, for there is first-hand evidence that they were carved at nights by sweethearts, and that there was great emulation among the young ladies as to who should possess the nicest stick. No. 9 is modern, carved in 1882, and very like a viper.

The curved shanks lead to the dagger-shaped sticks, curved, hollowed, notched or grooved, the top generally turned, though sometimes carved to imitate turning. Some are perfectly plain, but the increased surface inviting ornament, we find rows of triangles, flowers, initials either incised or let in, the full name of the lady and sometimes the date of the year, or even, as in No. 16, the day. No. 26 has been decorated with paint instead of carving, and No. 14 is still in use.

Oak is the usual material, but occasionally beech or mahogany were used.

The decoration is archaic in the sense of being primitive,

but cannot be said to originate from or be a survival of Scandinavian or Jacobean carving. There is nothing dragonesque, no interlacing, no seventeenth-century pattern ; in fact the designs are quaint and simple, exactly those which would first occur to a beginner—triangles, hearts, crosses, flowers and birds. Fashion in style no doubt prevailed locally, as certain sticks closely resemble each other.

The straight series, turned in a lathe are, of various woods, ash and the beautiful laburnum being frequently used. Some have a ring of bone or metal at the top, No. 27 having two rings of metal connected by diagonal straight pieces, all let in round the upper part. They vary from 5 to $9\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length, and date from about 1800 to the present day, ending with No. 29 from the pencil works at Keswick. Dagger-shaped sticks vary from $11\frac{1}{4}$ inches to $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Roughly speaking, carved sticks are eighteenth century, turned specimens nineteenth, and dagger-shaped first half of nineteenth, but there is some overlapping.

Description of the Illustrations.

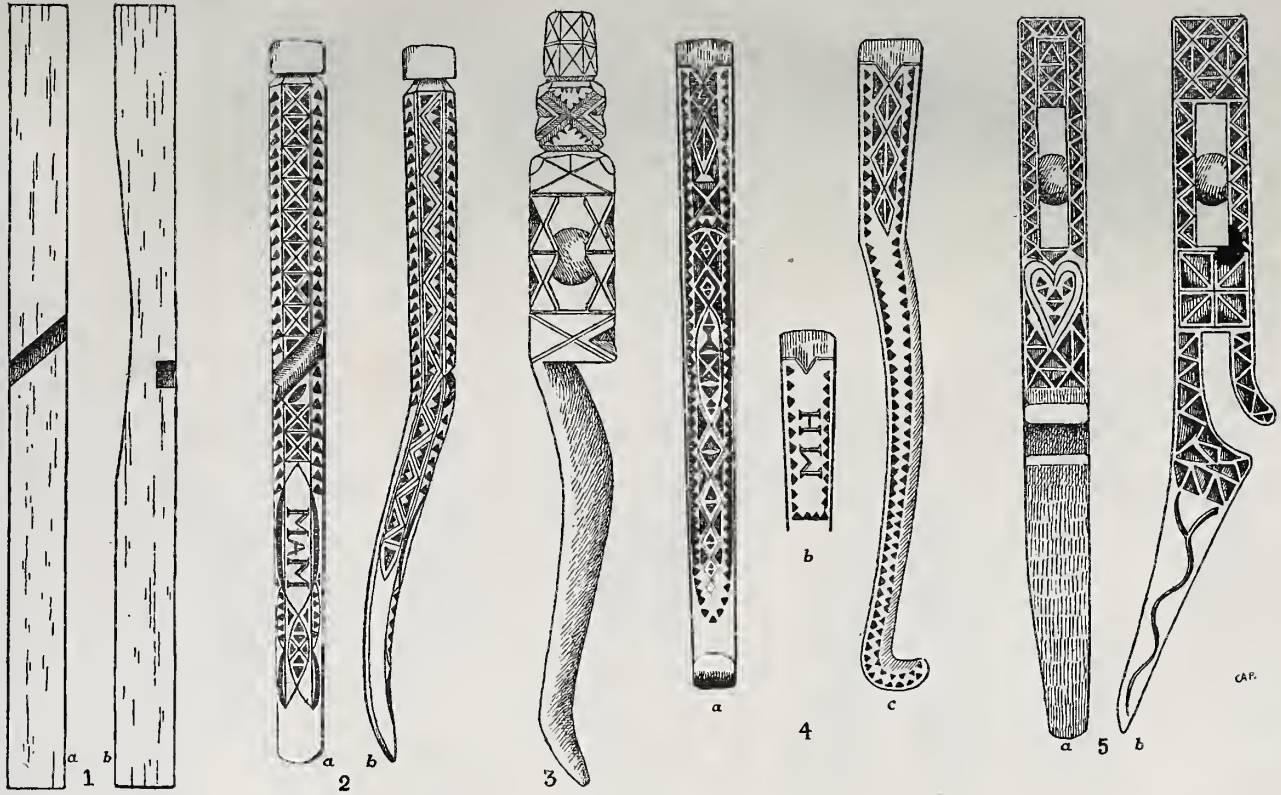
No. 1.—Dark oak, 8 inches. Square section, 1770 or earlier. Clifton Moor, Penrith ; originally *Brougham*; seen at Seascale.

No. 2.—Oak, $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Over 200 triangles. Convex face plain and slot for string on concave face, so that the curve does not fit the figure. Incised M.M. with an A scratched in between later. Mary Millican, née Watson, of *Alston* had it given her about 1800. Now at Bowbridge, Gosforth.

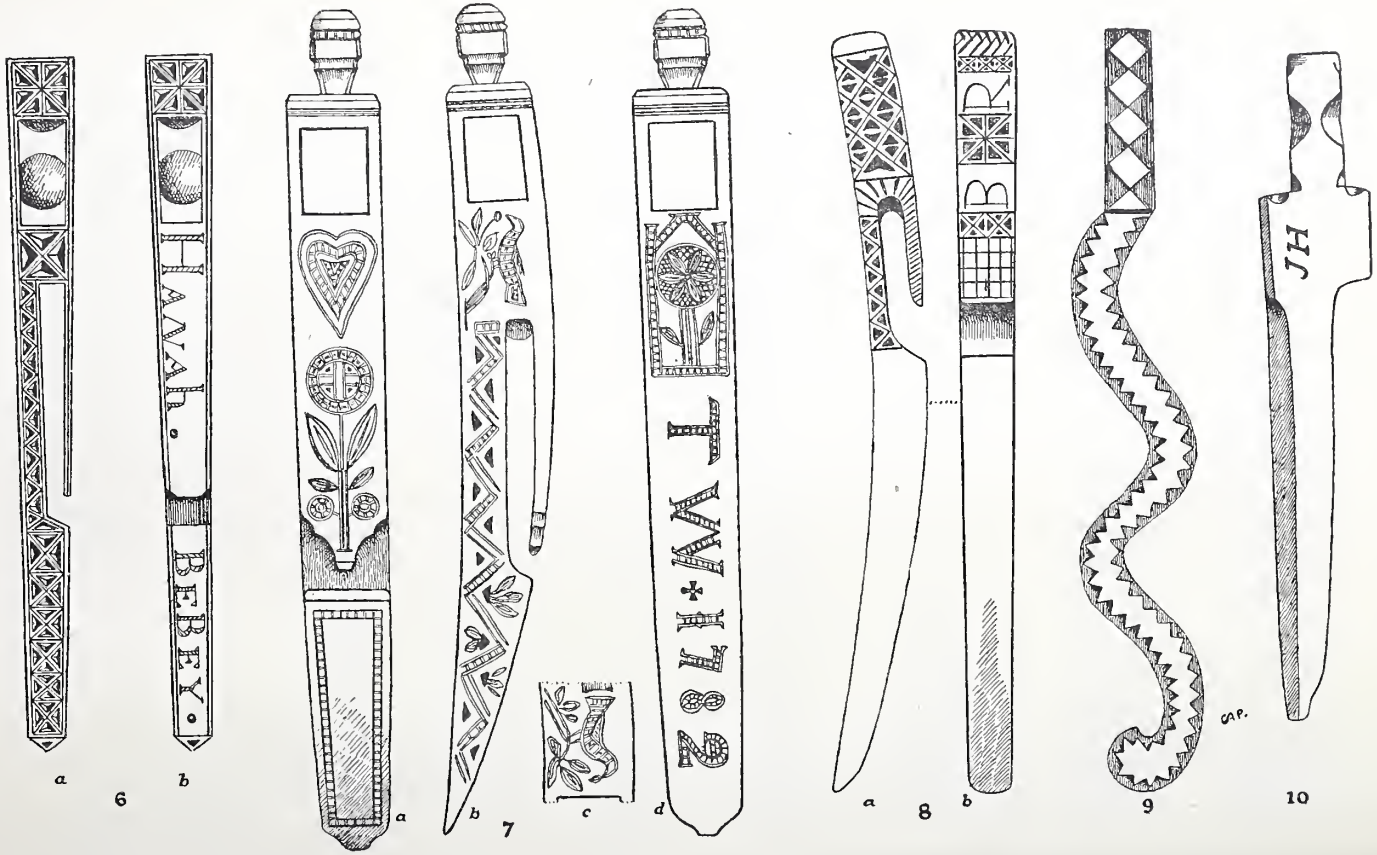
No. 3.—Dark oak, 8 inches. Top octagon, body square. On concave of curved shank, M.T. (Thompson). About 1780. *Calderbridge*, now at Parknook, Gosforth.

No. 4.—Oak, $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Metal round top. On inner face M.H. Given to Mary Hall, formerly Mary Martin, about 1820, by an old lady named Hunter of *Alston*, who dated it 1775. The M.H. put on later. Now at Bowbridge, Gosforth.

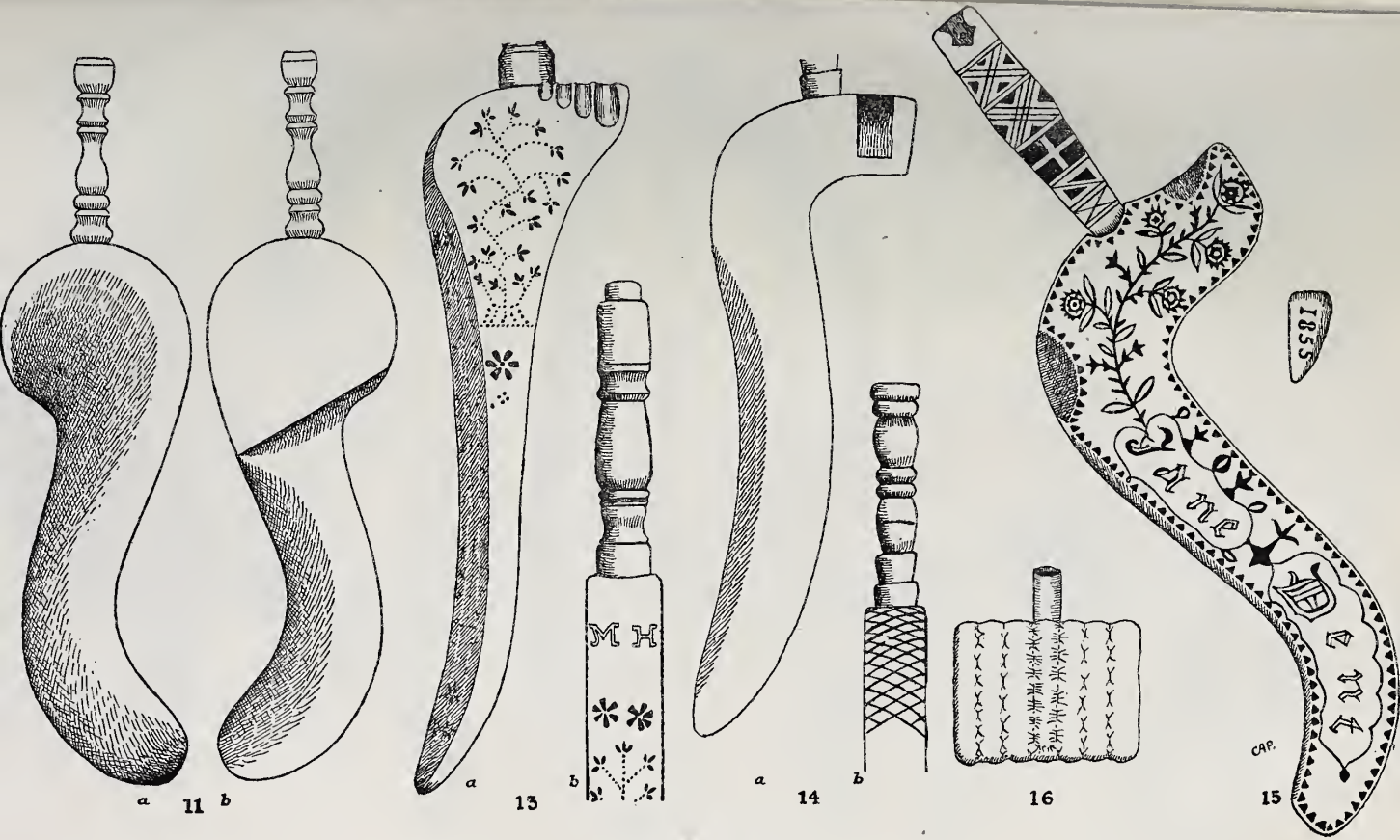
No. 5.—Beech, $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Dated 1789. Carved by William Bibby. Hollowstones, *Eskdale*.



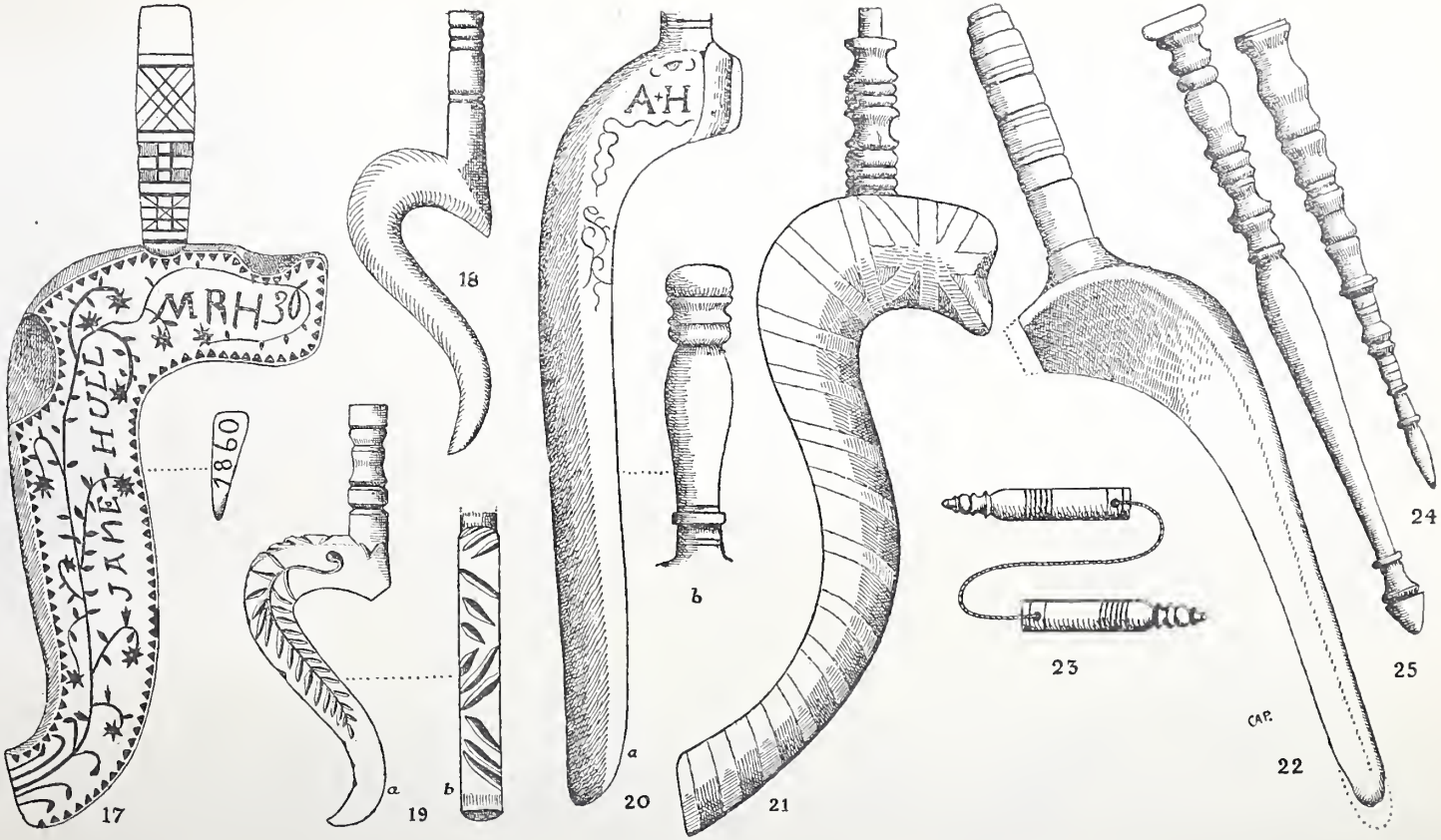
KNITTING STICKS.



KNITTING STICKS



KNITTING STICKS.



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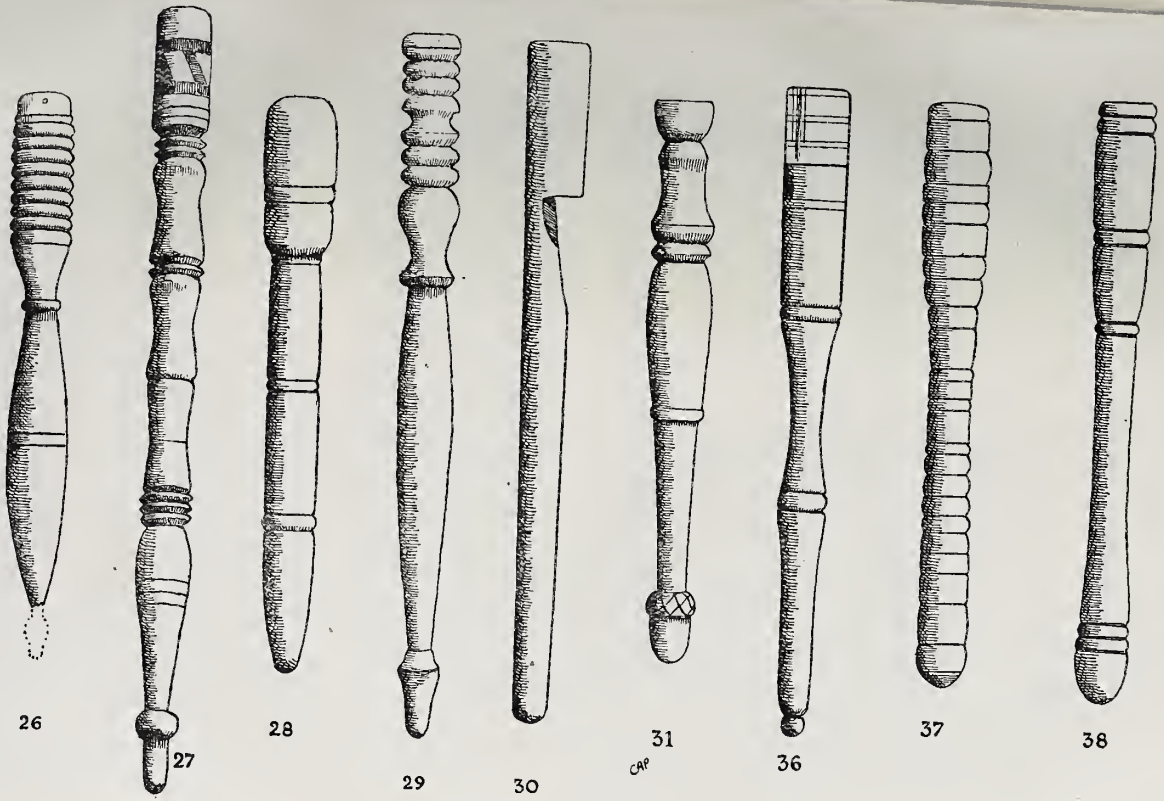


KNITTING STICKS

No. 6.—Dark oak, 7 inches. Carved by Joseph Bibby of Wasdale for his sister Hannah, about 1825. Good work. Hollowstones, *Eskdale.*

No. 7.—Oak, 8¾ inches. Has been mended and the ball lost. On concave face T.W. (Tamar Wilson), 1782. *Calderbridge*, now at Parknook.

No. 8.—Oak, 8 inches. Carved for Betty Roger of Gillbank. About 1810-20. Randal How, *Eskdale.* Pattern marked on concave side but not carved.

No. 9.—Beech, 7¾ inches. Square section, top carved all round. Body serpentine with plain sides. Carved by Joseph W. Nixon, 1882. Bowbridge, *Gosforth.*

No. 10.—Oak, 6¾ inches. Two small notches. Very rude. Bridge End, Santon Bridge, Irton.

No. 11.—Mahogany, 11¼ inches. Turned top. Grooved on flat side diagonally. One of a pair. Greendale, Netherwasdale, formerly *Witherslack.*

No. 12.—Mahogany, 11 inches. Quite flat on one face, only slightly hollowed on the other. No groove. Greendale, formerly *Witherslack* (not illustrated).

No. 13.—Oak, 10¾ inches. Four grooves. On concave back 5 stars and floral pattern, on shoulder M.H. in brass let in. About 1820. Clifton Moor, *Penrith*; seen at Seascale.

No. 14.—Oak, 10 inches. Top carved not turned. Square notch. Still in use. Belonged to Mary Mallinson of Newby Foot, *Morland*, about 1830. Now at Seascale.

No. 15.—Oak, 9½ inches. Top a separate piece with metal on upper end. Blade flattish, two notches. Dated 1855. *Baldersdale*, Yorks., now at Santon Bridge.

No. 16.—The quilted quill still in use.

No. 17.—Oak, 9 inches. Very flat and like the last. Dated 1860. *Baldersdale*, Yorks., now at Santon Bridge.

No. 18.—Oak, 4½ inches. About 1820. Row, Gosforth, believed to have come from *Ennerdale.* Now at Parknook.

No. 19.—Oak, 4½ inches. (Same as Fig. 18).

No. 20.—Oak, 11 inches. On flatter side, groove and A.H., *Ulpha.*

No. 21.—Mahogany, 8¼ inches. Stripes of what has once been paint. Randal How, *Eskdale.*

No. 22.—Oak, 9 inches, has been longer. Very plain. Windsor, *Netherwasdale.*

No. 23.—Bone caps for knitting needles.

No. 24.—Blackish wood, perhaps stained, 5 inches. Windsor, *Netherwasdale.*

No. 25.—Laburnum, 6¾ inches. Bone top. Hollinhead, *Eskdale.*

No. 26.—Dark red wood, 5¼ inches, has been longer. Circle of brass round top. 1850 or earlier. *Gosforth,* now at Parknook.

No. 27.—Ash, 8 inches. Pieces of metal let in round the top. About 1840. Whineray, *Gosforth,* now at Parknook.

No. 28. —Mahogany, 6 inches. Belonged to Elizabeth Herbert of Mealbank, *Gosforth,* about 1820; now at Parknook.

No. 29. —Cedar, 7¼ inches. Present day, *Keswick* pencil works.

No. 30. —Ash, 7 inches. About 1780. Green Lodge, *Eskdale.*

No. 31. —Oak, 5¾ inches. Foot acorn shaped. Blengside, *Gosforth,* now at Parknook.

No. 32.—Oak, 8 inches. Very like 28, *Eskdale* (not illustrated).

No. 33.—Laburnum, 7 inches. Like the last but with circular bone top. Sword House, *Eskdale* (not illustrated).

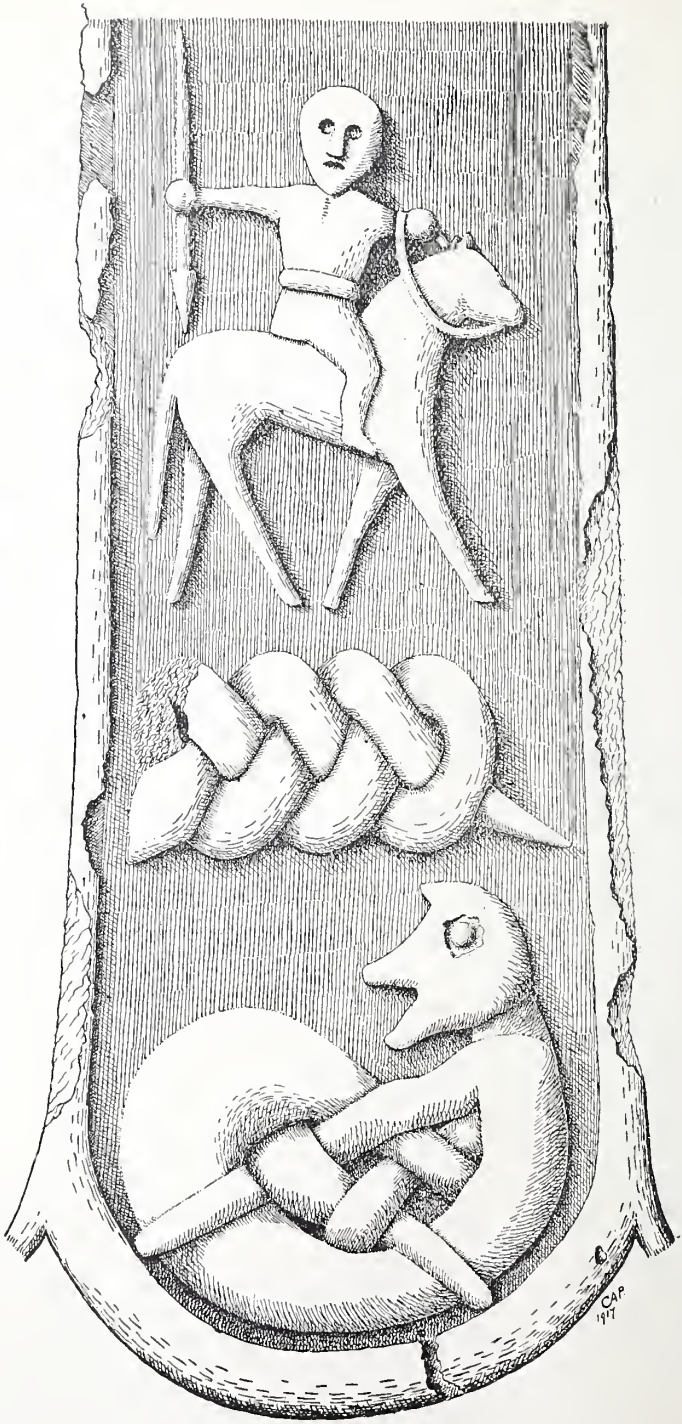
No. 34.—Ash, 9¼ inches. Much the same but longer. Yew-tree, Netherwasdale, formerly *Caldbeck* (not illustrated).

No. 35.—Ash, 7½ inches. Like 26. Turned by Joseph Millican of *Alston,* about 1846. Now at Bowbridge, Gosforth (not illustrated).

No. 36.—Mahogany, 6¾ inches. Heavy brass top. Somewhat like 26. *Haworth,* Yorks. About 1835.

No. 37.—Beech, 6 inches. Turned in rolls the whole length. *Haworth,* Yorks.

No. 38.—Oak, 6¼ inches. *Haworth,* Yorks.; the last three seen at Seascale.



1. The Lower Part of the South Face, Gosforth Cross.

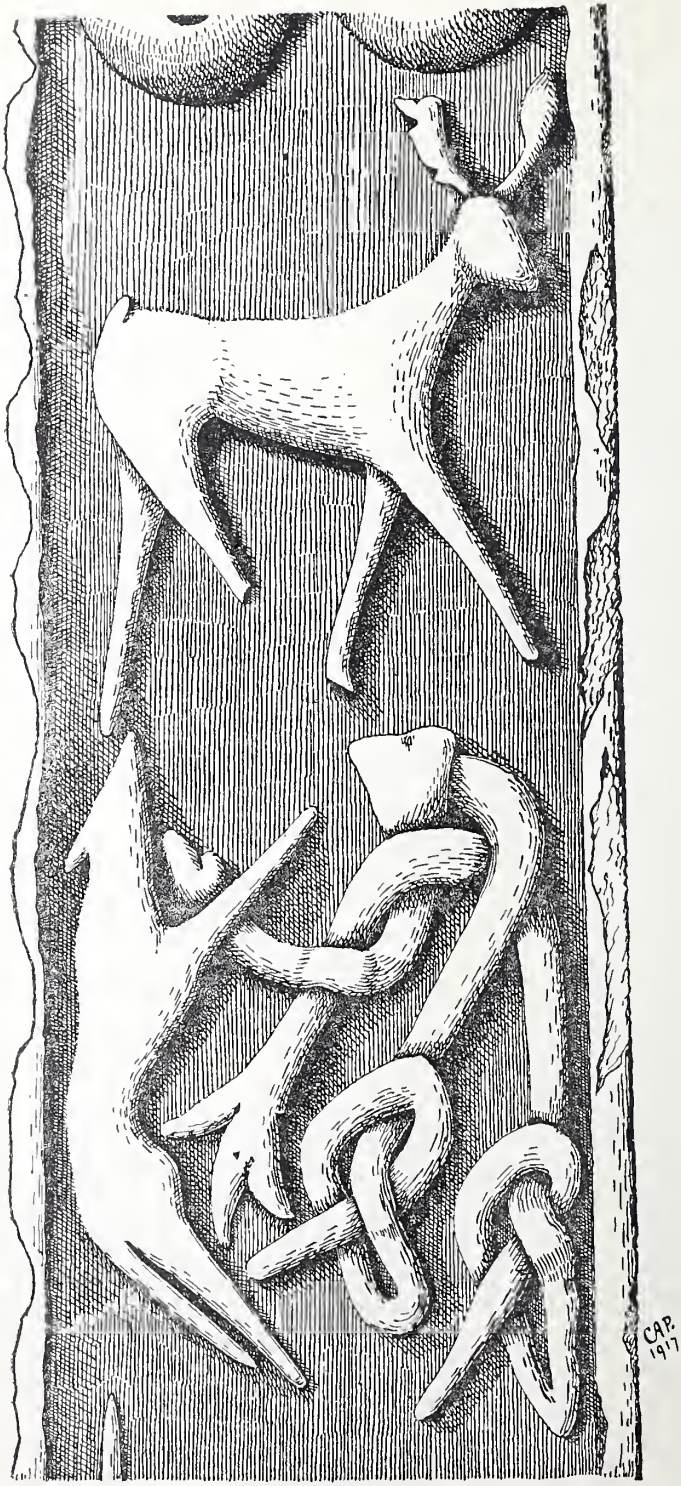
ART. IX.—*A reconsideration of Gosforth Cross.* By C. A. PARKER, M.D., F.R.C.S.E., and W. G. COLLINGWOOD, M.A., F.S.A.

Read at Carlisle, April 26th, 1917.

THE first attempt to explain Gosforth Cross appeared thirty-five years ago, at a time when the comparative study of such monuments, especially those of England, was not very far advanced. As knowledge accumulated, various papers were written at different dates by authors not in communication with each other, and the interpretation has never been entirely satisfactory. This paper is an attempt to restate a few points in the light of further experience; for those who have been long engaged in the study would not be candid if they did not offer the results of recent investigation even when it leads to reconsideration of their own previous theories.

To begin with, we notice some details of the carving, hitherto we believe insufficiently recorded. The drawings here reproduced have been carefully made from the cross itself, and give all the visible detail except the wheel-head, simply ornamented with *triquetrae*, and the foot of the shaft, partly covered with "Scandinavian" vertebral or chain-plait.

Fig. 1, south side. The snake under the horse is not headless; its head droops like that of the snake on the "Fishing stone," and part of the convolution above the head is broken off. The horseman has no beard; he wears a kirtle and belt; his left arm holds the bridle, and from its shortness is probably intended to be bent horizontally—an unusual effort of naturalism in early relief-carving. This is the best drawn horse on this cross and the only bridled one; the hoofs have been carved with care.



2. The Wolf and Hart,
South face of Gosforth Cross.

South West North East

3. THE FIGURED PART OF GOSFORTH CROSS-SHAFT.

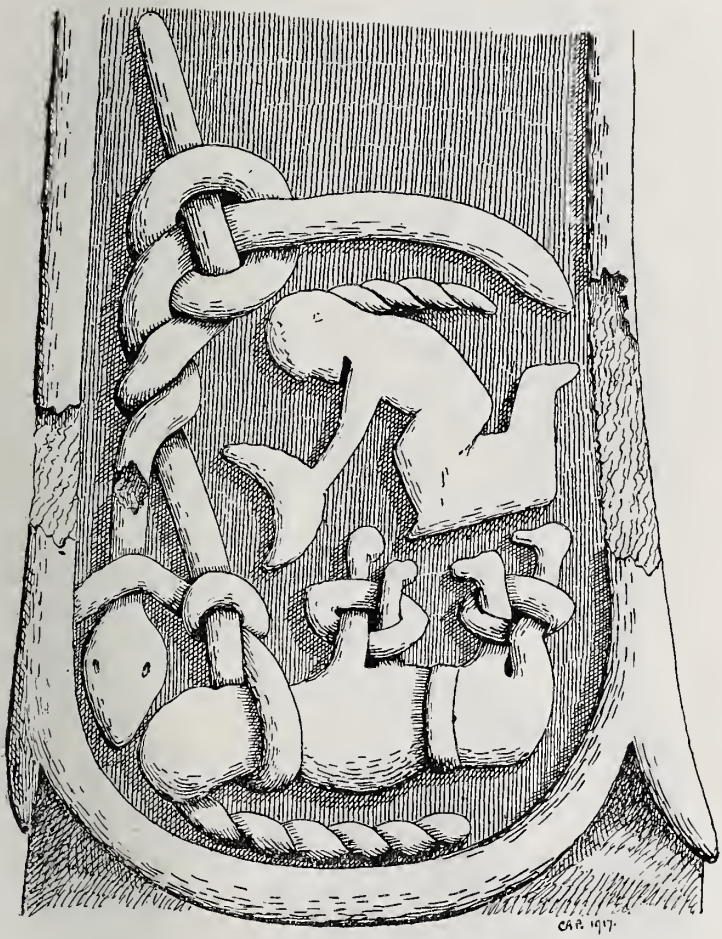
Fig. 2. The tangle below (or beside) the feet of the wolf is in two pieces, each tied in a loose knot, with a jagged end. It is not a serpent. The stag has delicate hoofs and well drawn antlers.

Fig. 3, west side. The dragon at the top has teeth; all the heads have the common (anatomical) error of the upper canine locking in front of the lower. One of the descending dragons has its convolutions wrongly set out; they do not form a true plait of three. Heimdal has no beard; the opening of the tunic at the neck shows clearly, and some markings which look like his teeth can be made out. The reversed horseman is a heavy man, kirtled and apparently bearded, on a heavy horse, with the hoofs visible.

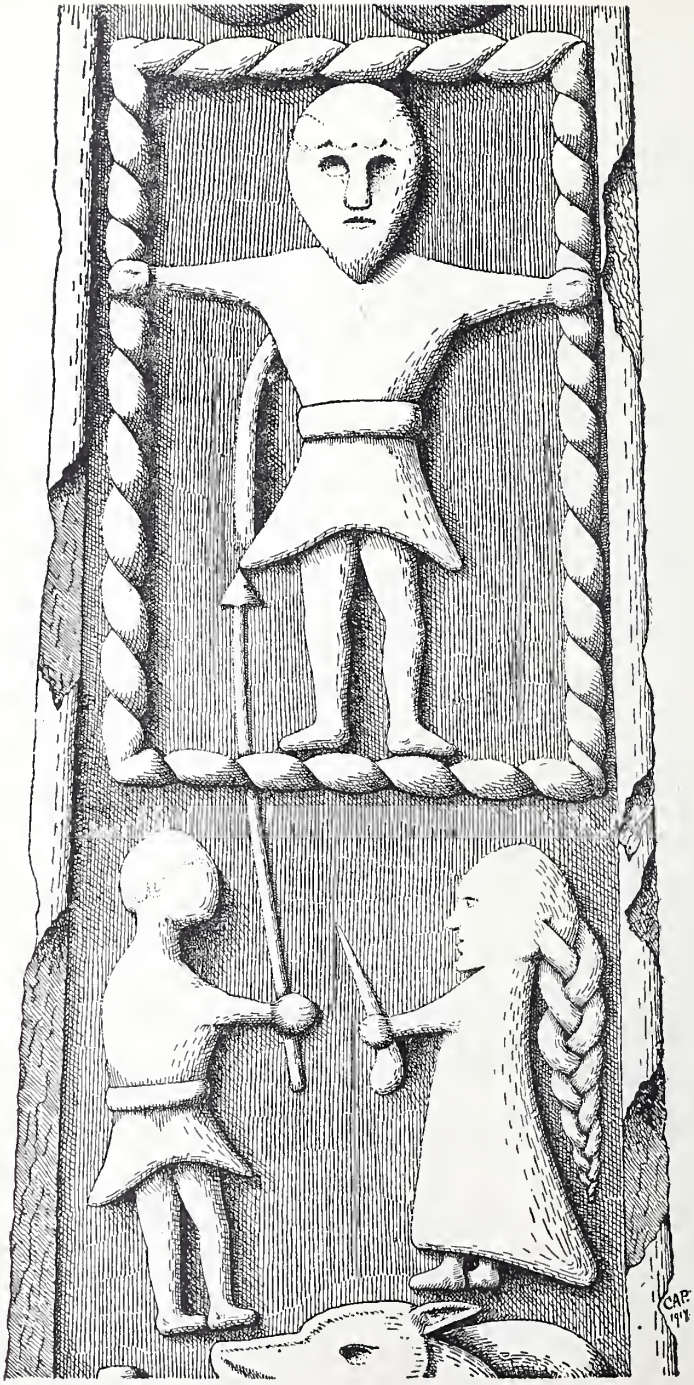
Fig. 4 gives the Loki panel in detail. The upper curve is the body of the snake, whose tail does not touch the arris-moulding. After passing the ring-knot the snake twists once round the suspending rope, which is then knotted round Loki's neck, the end passing away to the left. The cable below is Loki's long hair. Sigyn's chin is long and pointed.

On the north side (fig. 3) the horseman group is much weathered, which makes the horses look light. The upper horseman has a very long body and wears a kirtle; his head is long and pointed; perhaps he had a helmet and beard, but weathering has destroyed the features. The horse has hoofs and ear and a very long tail. The lower horseman wears a kirtle, and has a long, pointed head but his chin is shorter than the other horseman's. The spearhead is very large. The horse has hoofs and ear, but the tail has gone.

On the east side (fig. 3) the dragon-head has only one tooth, which is in the upper jaw; the stone has flaked, giving the appearance of more teeth. Vidar's foot passes between the split or forked points of the dragon's tongue. His heel is broken off, but the toe remains on the dragon's



4. The Punishment of Loki;
West face of Gosforth Cross.



5. The Crucifixion;
East face of Gosforth Cross.

jaw. No features are visible on his face, and he has certainly no beard. At the foot of the design the two serpents or dragons have ears but no teeth; the eyes are snake-eyes; both tails are tucked away out of sight.

Fig. 5 gives the Crucifix group in detail. A rubbing of the head of the Crucifix shows traces of hair and short beard; the features have been carefully carved but are much worn. A single stream (not forked) issues from the right side. The spearhead is nearly an equilateral triangle. A rubbing of the head of Longinus shows traces of clustering hair, the ear-lobe, and a kind of fillet round the head, which may be the rim of a helmet. The Magdalen has abundant hair, both on the top of her head and hanging down in a plait of three. Features can be made out dimly, the chin long and pointed. The *alabastron* is bulbous, with a long tapering neck, suggesting a glass bottle of fabric not familiar in the north.

It may be noted that there are three kinds of dragons on the Gosforth cross:—(*a*) on the south and west the bodies are made of vertebral or chain pattern, like the "Yggdrasil" pattern on the lower part of the shaft, on the Dearham cross, Crosscanonby hogback, etc.; (*b*) on the south, west and east are dragons with plaited bodies, in the last two cases obviously the evil powers opposing Heimdal and Vidar; and (*c*) on the north is a unique creature with eight rings and eight pairs of wings, which suggest a decorative allusion to the dragon-ships of the Vikings. Pieces of pattern other than figures on this shaft are (*a*) on the north a double-strand plait of three at the foot of the panel, and (*b*) on the east a piece of vertebral pattern without the head required to make it a dragon, between the Crucifix and Vidar. This, of course, might mean a decapitated dragon; but the head is not shown as Regin's head is shown, severed from his trunk, on the Halton "Sigurd" shaft (fig. 6). In all Viking Age crosses in England there are such pieces of patterns, filling spaces;

to seek a symbolism in them is perhaps pressing interpretation too far.

The dragon in the middle of the south side has a ring round its head, with a knob which was formerly taken as the hilt of the sword thrust into the Fenris wolf's mouth (*prose Edda*), but this is hardly certain. The ring may be simply the survival of the frequent motive of a strap, sometimes the animal's tongue, encircling its head.

The carving is all in relief, with the chisel, leaving a flat-ground. That is to say, it is technically in advance of the hacked sketching common in the tenth century, for instance in the Jellinge style,* which Dr. Haakon Schetelig dates to the later part of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh centuries, The crucifix of the Gorm stone at Jellinge (c. 980) is so different from the Gosforth crucifix as to put direct Danish influence out of the question, if the monuments are contemporary ; and the Gosforth ornament is more severe than that of the later Jellinge style. Nor can this cross in general form be equated with any Manx or Scottish cross ; it relates more nearly to the Northumbrian work of the Viking Age. The figures (much more simple and less ambitiously grouped than those of Monasterboice) are somewhat like the figures of the Halton "Sigurd" (fig. 6), the Bilton hogback fragment (*Y.A.J.* xxiii, 140), the West Witton cross-head fragment (*Y.A.J.* xix, 406), and the Kirklevington helmeted man (*ibid.* 353). The cross-head is of the commonest type of the Northumbrian Viking Age, characteristic of the tenth century, rather than later. The peculiar shaft is also English ; it seems to originate in the cut-off (not bevelled) arrises of the Collingham "Apostles" shaft (*Y.A.J.* xxiii, 156) and the second Dacre stone (these *Transactions*, N.S. xii, 157), both probably early ninth century. The developed form is seen

* For a short account of the Jellinge, Ringerike and Urnes styles in Denmark and Scandinavia, later tenth and eleventh centuries, see *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, ser. 2, xxiii, 397-402, and xxvi, 61-72, papers by Mr. Reginald A. Smith, F.S.A.

FIG. 6.—HALTON: "SIGURD" SHAFT.

TO FACE 106.

FIG. 7.—ST. ANDREW'S, AUCKLAND.

FIG. 8.—SHEFFIELD CROSS SHAFT.

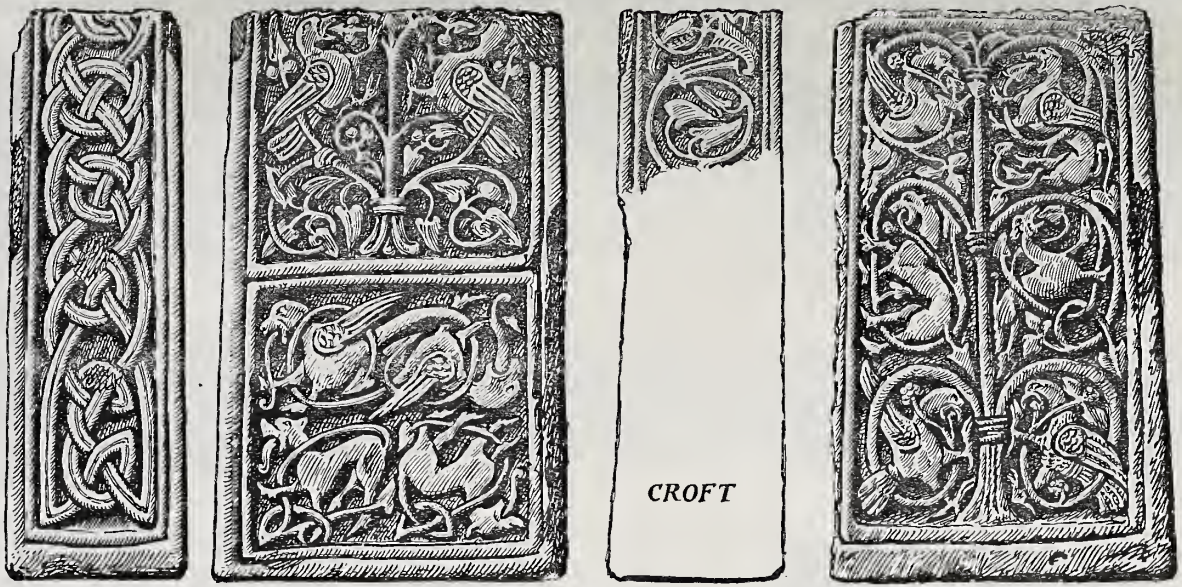


FIG. 9.—THE CROFT SHAFT.

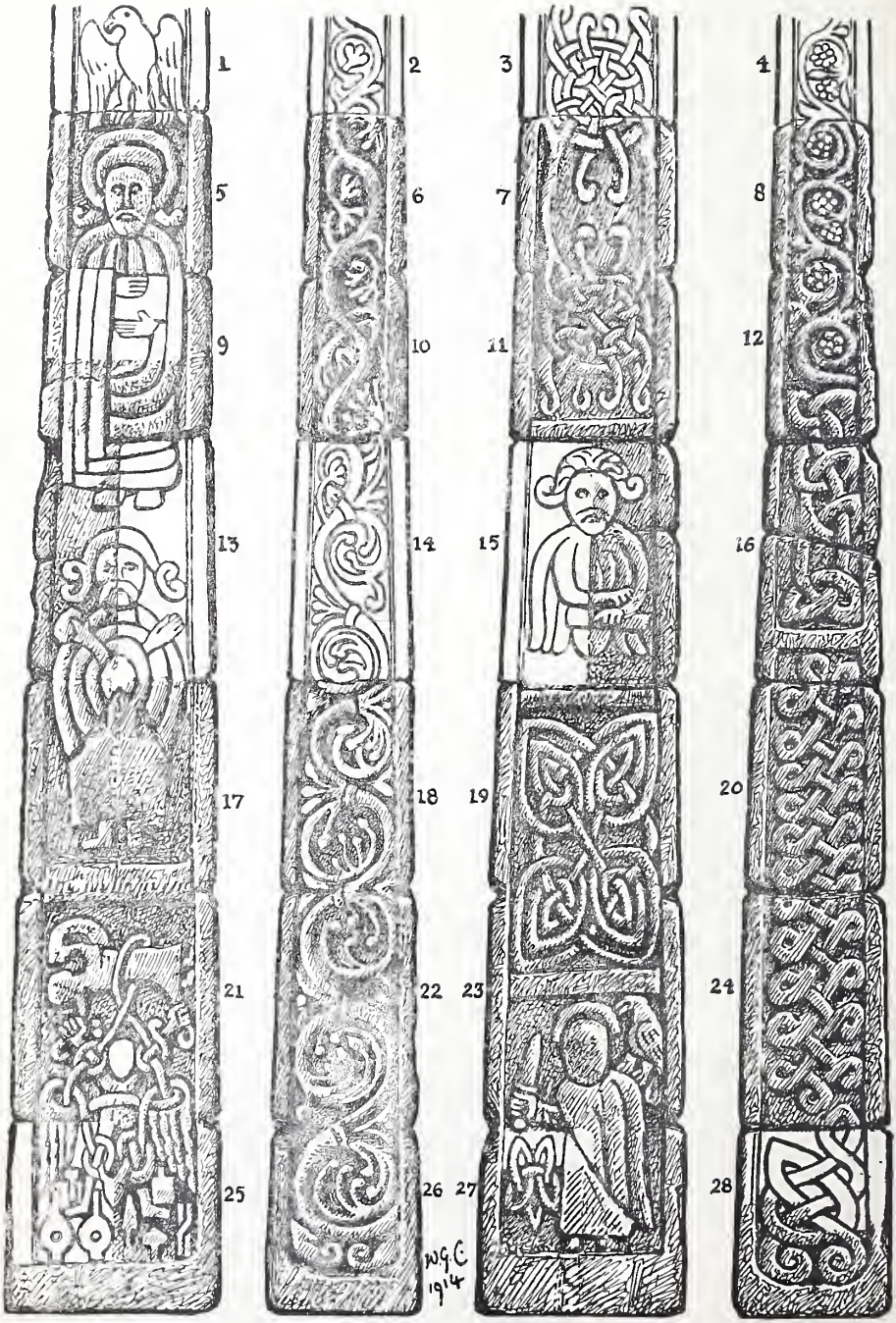


FIG. 10.—LEEDS CROSS.

at Gilling West (*Y.A.J.* xix, 323) of the pre-Viking style, or late ninth century: thence travelling southward to Cheshire (a group at Macclesfield and Lyme), Ilam (Staffs.), Stapleford (Notts.) and the pillar of Eliseg (Denbigh); and north-west, to Penrith, Gosforth and Beckermet; all these seem to be of the late tenth and eleventh centuries. For the date of Gosforth cross we have to remember that the hogbacks, similar in style and cutting, were built in as foundations to the twelfth-century church, and must be of considerably earlier age. But if, as we now wish to point out, the literary subjects illustrated on the shaft are taken from the Edda poem of the *Völuspá*, they cannot be earlier than the end of the tenth century. And though the literary subject is Norse, the artistic character of the monument is English.

One of the most striking features of this cross is the irregularity in position of the figures; dragons head-upwards and downwards, figures upright, transverse and upside down. This is not without analogy in late pre-Norman monuments. For instance, the archer at St. Andrew's, Auckland (fig. 7) on an early Anglian stone, bends back from an upright position to aim at the creatures above him; but the Sheffield archer (fig. 8)*, on a late Anglian shaft, was evidently drawn without forethought, while the stone lay on the ground, and when it was set up he appeared to be "shinning" up the panel in an impossible attitude. The Croft stone (fig. 9), appears to give the earliest English instance of unnatural placing in animal-forms; this is probably of the eighth century and the design is intentionally decorative. But in later work, Northumbrian, Welsh, Scottish and Manx, we find many instances of a carelessness as to result, in design which must have been sketched while the stone lay on the ground, without regard to its ultimate erection; *e.g.* at Forcett, Ilkley, Kildwick and Mirfield (*Y.A.J.* xix,

* Block kindly lent by the Yorkshire Archæological Society.

320; xxiii, 195, 198, 223), Andreas (Kermode, *Manx Crosses*, pl. LIII), Kilmory of Knapdale (Stuart, *Sculpt. Stones*, ii, pl. XXXIII), Maen-y-chwyfan (Westwood, *Lap. Walliae*, pl. 88) are beasts which do not stand on their feet unless seen sidewise. In the Leeds cross (fig. 10)*, the lame Wayland Smith, tied up in his artificial wings, is supposed to be snatching at Bödvild as she runs away; but the effect of the clumsy design is to suggest that she is floating over his head. Other instances of inversion are at Crofton and Bilton (*Y.A.J.* xxiii, 161, 140): these two may be intentional, but the sidewise and inverted figures of Gosforth are not unique, and they suggest that the design was drawn on the stone as it lay, roughed out and ready for carving, without preliminary working-drawings.

In trying to reconstitute the designer's intention, we seem to see him going along the side of the lengthy narrow stone, sometimes a-straddle across it, filling in figure after figure with his chalk, and almost necessarily losing hold of the vertical position intended for the cross. When he had to draw two horsemen fighting, he would treat them as Wayland and Bödvild on the Leeds cross, with an inexperienced attempt at opposition; and when the shaft was reared, one of them came out upside-down. In grouping Vidar and Heimdal with their surroundings he forgot that they would ultimately seem to be lying down; but they are obviously meant as parts of a group. In drawing Heimdal he had the head of the cross to his left hand; in drawing Vidar the head was to his right. The dragon on the north side was done with the cross-head to the designer's left hand; the uppermost dragon and the wolf on the south side were drawn with the cross-head to the right hand, though the lower dragon turns the other way. This seems to mean that the south side was drawn from what now appears as the bottom

* Block kindly lent by the Thoresby Society.

upwards; the stone was then turned over, and the west was drawn in from the top downwards; then the north, upwards; and the east, downwards. We take the sides in that order because, if there were any intention of a consecutive story (and the evidently illustrative character of the groups makes such an intention probable) the sides would be meant to be read as the spectator went round the cross with the sun, rather than "withershins," which would be unlucky. And the whole story seems to lead up to the Crucifix, which would be the last group in the series.

Taking the groups separately, where do we find the sources of the incidents they represent?

Heimdal blowing his horn occurs in the *Völuspá*, 46; but in *Grimnismál*, 13, he drinks mead from it. Here he simply holds it out, ready to blow, and appears to be attacked by the horseman with his spear, while he holds back the dragons in his character of Warder of Heaven, *Völuspá*, 42, 46.

Loki tended in Hel by Sigyn is fully described in the prose epilogue to *Lokasenna* in the poetic Edda, and in Snorri's prose Edda; but the "Sitting of Sigyn" is mentioned in *Völuspá*, 35.

Vidar, in *Völuspá*, 54, and in *Vafthrúdnismál*, 53, cuts the wolf's jaws with his sword; it is only in the prose Edda, 51, that he rends them with his foot, as on Gosforth cross. But in the prose Edda Snorri was writing down traditions, and the bit of ritual folklore he relates (about throwing out scraps of leather for the Gods to gather and make into thick boots for Vidar against the hour of need) is surely pre-Christian. It implies a variant of *Völuspá*, as we have it, current in the tenth century, before the conversion of the north.

The Crucifix can hardly be construed otherwise than as a Christian interpretation of "The One who is to come," mentioned in *Völuspá*, 65, and *Völuspá en Skamma*, 17.

Some confused equation of the Crucified with Balder smitten to death by the blind Hödr, or Odin hanging in the Tree of Life, may—perhaps must—have occurred to the people of the time; but this Gosforth group is distinctly the Christian scene of the Crucifixion; the whole monument is surmounted with the usual Christian cross-head; and the shaft is of a form common to Christian monuments in England. It is impossible to regard this as a purely heathen monument; it is Christian with certain heathen allusions.

The Hart and Wolf (or Hound) is also a common Christian symbol of the age, usually interpreted as meaning the passion of Christ or the trials of the Christian, an emblem much used on Christian grave-stones of the Viking Age. The reason that it was a favourite with converted Vikings is probably that the animals so grouped were already familiar in their older mythology. The wolf occurs *passim* (*Völuspá en Skamma*, 17; *Völuspá*, 39, 44, 49, 51 (Fenris wolf), 53, 58) as the enemy of the powers of light. The hart, Eikthyrnir ("oak-thorn") in *Grimnismál*, 26, and the prose Edda, 39, stands over Valhöll and drips from its horns the rain that makes all the rivers of earth and the underworld. This source of healing waters may have suggested the fountain of the water of life (St. John, iv, 10, etc.) and connected the hart with Christ; and though *Völuspá* in the form we have it, does not name the hart, it says "Yggdrasil, a high tree sprinkled with shining drops; dews come therefrom which fall in the dales" (st. 19), plainly referring to Eikthyrnir. In the *Sólarljód* the hart symbolises Vidar, the solar stag, and gives further evidence of the ease of transition from pagan to Christian symbolism. The tangle at the feet of the wolf (not a serpent) may here signify the burst bonds of the Fenris wolf, rushing at the god who is ultimately to slay him (*Völuspá*, 54).

These identifications all occur in the *Völuspá;* no

other Edda poem mentions them all. The nearest literary source for this cross is the *Völuspá*, in whatever form it was known in Cumberland towards the year 1000, the epoch at which, it was generally believed, the current "dispensation" was to end and a new age was to begin. This is the main theme of the poem, and roughly fixes its date; for after the crisis was past, its prophecies would fall on deaf ears. We cannot suppose that the poem which we possess, written down by Sæmund of Oddi (1056-1133) or some other Icelander at a much later time, is exactly that which was sung towards the end of the tenth century; still less can we expect that it could be illustrated in a full and complete set of pictures of its incidents, even in book-illumination of the early middle age. On a cross, with all the limitations of space and technical requirements, no more than a few allusive figures can be expected; but if we take the four faces of the Gosforth cross and set them down, side by side with the four parts or periods of the poem, we get a strong suggestion that the designer had the poem in mind, much as the design of Ruthwell cross was inspired by Cynewulf's *Dream of the Rood*. A name or incident in the poem gave the hint for a figure on the cross, and the sequence is preserved in a remarkable degree. And remembering that the intention of the *Völuspá* is to show how all previous history, though seen from a strictly pagan point of view, led up to the regeneration of the world by the One who should come, the "White Christ," we can recognise its acceptability to the Christian of that age as a plea for the new faith, and we can understand, more clearly than before, the reason why it was chosen for illustration on the Gosforth cross.

GOSFORTH CROSS.	THE VÖLUSPÁ.
I. South Side.	I. Creation and the Golden Age.
Snake-dragon raising its head; Plaited snake;	2-4, Birth of the Jötuns; 4-6, Ordering of the heavenly bodies;
Horseman (? Odin, the ruler of the cosmos).	7, 8, The Golden Age; 9-16, Creation of the Dwarfs; 17-18, Creation of Man.
Wolf and Hart (Eikthyrnir).	19, "the high tree sprinkled with shining drops" (Eikthyrnir).
Vertebral dragon, its head ringed, pursuing plaited dragon.	20, The Norns that "speak the doom of the sons of man."
II. West Side.	II. The Early Wars of the Gods.
Vertebral dragon.	21-27, War with the Vanir about Goldendraught (the witch who taught greed of gold and sorcery). Victory of the Vanir; Frey and Freyja come to Asgard.
Two plaited dragons attacking Heimdal, Warder of Heaven.	25, 26, War with the Jötuns, who had carried off Freyja, ended by the breaking of pledges:—
Heimdal with staff and horn.	27-34, The three pledges:
Horseman.	(*a*) Heimdal's hearing, (*b*) Odin's eye, (*c*) Baldr's life taken by Loki.
Loki beneath the snake; Sigyn sitting over him, and emptying the poison from her cup.	35, Loki's punishment in Hel; the sitting of Sigyn; 36-41, Description of Hel.
III. North Side.	III. Ragnarök.
Plait.	42-49, Signs of the doom; degeneracy of Society, and warnings of the gods.
Horseman (? Surt) attacking Horseman, also attacked by	50-52, Gathering of the destroyers:—

winged dragon (? ship of Hel).	(*a*) Jötuns from the east; (*b*) Loki and the ship of Hel from the north; (*c*) Surt, the fire-god from the south. 53, The gods' last fight.
IV. East Side.	IV. The New World.
Two dragons plaited together; the lower one's jaws rent by Vidar.	54-58, Vidar, the only god who survives, slays the Fenris wolf; end of the old world.
Vertebral pattern.	59-61, The new world.
The crucifix; Longinus and Mary Magdalen.	62-65, The promise of Baldr's re-birth; "Comes from on high to the great assembly The Mighty Ruler who orders all."
Two snakes beneath.	66, "Fares from beneath a dim dragon flying . . . . Nidhögg."

ART. X.—*Catalogue of the Roman Pottery in the Museum, Tullie House, Carlisle.* By THOMAS MAY, F.S.A., and LINNÆUS E. HOPE, F.L.S.

Communicated at Carlisle, September 7th, 1916.

THE Roman pottery preserved in Tullie House Museum, and described and illustrated herein, is mainly derived from excavations within the city of Carlisle for drains, cellars, foundations of ordinary dwellings, supports for pillars in the public market, etc. The earliest and finest examples were obtained from deep digging on the site of Tullie House itself in 1892, when the present buildings for the Museum and Free Library were erected. These are nos. 1, 10-15, 18, 26, 30, 42, 63, 66, 112, 136, 139, 145, 179, 181, 187, here distinguished by the letters T.H. following the progressive numbers of the specimens. R.F. in the same position denotes specimens belonging to the Robert Ferguson collection. The late Robert Ferguson, M.P., gave to the Museum in 1892 his collection of Roman antiquities from various localities in Carlisle and along the Wall of Hadrian. O.M. is used to indicate specimens taken over from the old museum in Finkle Street, originally in the Old Guard, later in the Athenaeum (now the Gretna tavern). These are mostly without any record of place of origin or other distinguishing mark.

Among pottery specimens found outside the city are nos. 54, 89, from excavations in 1909-12 at Birdoswald Turret; nos. 45, 53, at Appletree Turret; nos. 23 *a-d*, 24, 31, 33, are from Nether Denton, and have been previously described in these *Transactions*, N.S. XIII (1913), pp. 346, 351, 385, pls. XIX and XXVIII, fig. 39. Nos. 37, 44a-b, 87, were found at Poltross Burn during the exca-

vations by F. G. Simpson in 1909-10, and are fully described, along with the other remains obtained from the site, in these *Transactions*, N.S. XI (1911), p. 455, pl. VI. Much of the coarse pottery from these sites is not included in this catalogue, as it has already been fully described and illustrated in the reports referred to, and is exhibited separately in the Museum.

A few others are no. 6, from Burgh-on-Sands; nos. 61, 80, from Papcastle; no. 62, from Stanwix; no. 64, from Garlands, near Harraby; no. 127, from Haltwhistle Burn, Northumberland.

The examples of early *sigillata* mentioned by Mr. Bushe-Fox in his monograph on "The use of Samian Pottery in dating the Early Roman Occupation of the North of Britain," published in *Archaeologia*, vol. LXIV (1913), pp. 299-301, pl. XXII, nos. 1-13, are distinguished by the letters B.-F. and his progressive number of the example annexed.

The photographs illustrating the whole bowls of *terra sigillata*, face-vases and triple vases, are by Mr. Linnæus E. Hope, F.L.S., curator of the Museum, who has co-operated otherwise in various ways during the preparation of the catalogue. We have also to thank Professor Haverfield and Mr. Donald Atkinson, Research Fellow of University College, Reading, for their kind revision and assistance. The footnotes signed "D.A.," are by Mr. Atkinson.

The shapes of vessels specified in the list of potters' stamps suffice to show that forms 18, 31 (bowls) and 27, 33 (cups) are those most frequently occurring and nearly always with stamps. The two pieces of these shapes without potters' names are stamped with rosettes.

All the numerous examples of smooth *terra sigillata* in the Museum are not illustrated, but the forms they represent, with the numbers assigned to them by Dragendorff, Déchlette and other archæologists are given on plate XIX.

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[Of terms here used, a GLOSSARY is given in *The Pottery found at Silchester*, by Thomas May, F.S.A.].

Section I.—ROMAN WARES.

(1).—TYPES WITH COLOURED COATING.

Plate I.—A. Terra Sigillata, Embossed.

Whole Bowls, Forms 29, 30, 37. Nos. 1-9.

1 (T.H. 216). Bowl form 29 (restored). South Gaulish fabric, found on site of new buildings, Tullie House, Carlisle, 1892.

Height, 4 ins.; diams., rim $9\frac{5}{16}$, base $3\frac{1}{16}$ ins.

Bead-rim defined inside and outside by grooves.

Cornice vertically roulette-notched above and grooved four times below. Ornaments in four zones bordered by bead-rows and below by a neatly grooved moulding.

On frieze, (1) Festoon and tassel pattern filled with flowerets and leaf on long curved stalks, viz.: deltoid blossom (*Silchester*, p. 27, pl. XI, no. 6, and note; *Pompeii*, 24, 63, 71); a dart-shaped leaf (*id.*, 35); twisted tassels (catkins?) (*id.*, 73, 74). *Torus.*

On soffit, (2) Narrow three-leaf wreath (*Pompeii*, 35, 36 on bowl 29 of Rufinus). (3) Scroll-pattern filled above and below the main stem with tendril, spiral-stalked rosette (*Silchester*, p. 19, pl. VIB; p. 27, pl. XI, 10; *Pompeii* often), and dart-shaped leaf on long curved stalk (*Pompeii*, 35, as narrow wreath). (4) Narrow laurel-wreath (*Newstead*, p. 211, fig. 5, Flavian period; *Pompeii*, 62, 63, on bowl 37 (? Mommo); *Silchester*, p. 38, pl. XIII, 53, XVIIIA).

A full-depth fragment of this bowl is illustrated (*Archaeologia*, vol. LXIV, pl. XXII, 2) along with a group dated by Mr. Bushe-Fox rather before than after A.D. 80. The style and details of ornament are so like those on stamped bowls of Rufinus and his contemporaries that it may with certainty be ascribed to about the same date, which Mr. Atkinson places just previous to the destruction of Pompeii in A.D. 79. B.-F., 2.

2 (70a-14). Bowl, form 30 (restored), Cent. Gaulish, from Carlisle.

Height 5 ins.; diams., rim $5\frac{5}{8}$, base $2\frac{1}{2}$ ins.

Ovolo border; *ova* large, wide apart and blurred; bars with triangular terminals between.

Full-height zone of large scroll-pattern, between an upper bead-row border and incised mouldings below. Both upper and under lobes of the main stem are filled with large single leaves on long curved unattached stalks, and single rosettes.

This, the latest style of decoration on form 30 (cf. *Silchester*, pp. 42, 56, pl. XXIII) is perhaps attributable to the middle of the second century (130-160).

3 (8-03-2). Bowl, form 37 (restored) Lezoux fabric, found on the site of the Victoria Hotel, Carlisle.

Height, $4\frac{15}{16}$ ins. ; diams., rim $8\frac{5}{8}$, base $3\frac{3}{4}$ ins.

Ovolo border ; *ova* well formed, slender and wide apart ; three-pointed tassels on left.

Full-height zone of arcading bordered above by a bead-row and below by a fillet. Wide single arches springing from a caryatid, resting on a full-face mask, 656 Déch., used by Cinnamus, Divixtus, Iullinus, Libertus and Putriu.

Within the niches or shrines, Venus twining her locks, 173 Déch., (*Heiligenberg*, pl. XXIII, 2, on bowl 37 of Ciriuna) alternately with Venus fastening the cestus,* 185 Déch., used by Butrio, Cinnamus, Doeccus, Libertus ; also by East Gaulish potters (*Fölzer*, pp. 8-16, pl. II, 5, La Madeleine) ; on either side serrated leaves on long curved stalks ; in lower spaces fern or palm-branches placed horizontally in pairs, base to base. In spandrels, birds as 1019 Déch., reversed, used by Lezoux potters.

Date about A.D. 100-150.

4 (8-03-1). Small bowl 37 (restored) Lezoux fabric, found outside Victoria Hotel, Carlisle, 1903.

Height, $3\frac{1}{4}$ ins. ; diams., rim $6\frac{1}{2}$, base $2\frac{9}{16}$ ins.

Ovolo border ; *ova* well rounded, rosettes or knobs as tassels.

Full-height zone filled with figures in large double medallions, demi-medallions, and panels bordered above vertically and horizontally by bead-rows, below by a fillet.

In large medallion to r., sea-lion, 38 Déch., used by Cinnamus ; between fishes above and below (as 1062 Déch.).

In narrow panel adjoining, draped female (not in Déch.).

In demi-medallion, cantharus, as 1074 Déch.

In lower half of panel, hare or rabbit (not in Déch.).

The same series repeated four times round the side.

Cinnamus worked at Lezoux from about A.D. 130-170.

5 (70b-14). Small bowl 37, Lezoux fabric, found in Carlisle.

Height, $3\frac{3}{8}$ ins. ; diams., rim $6\frac{7}{16}$, base $2\frac{15}{16}$ ins.

Beneath the ovolo, a full-height zone bordered above by a bead-row and below by a slight groove, and divided by vertical bead-rows into panels alternating with demi-medallions suspended from reels. In demi-medallions, sea-horse (33 Déch. ; *Ludowici*, II, T62) ; in two spaces beneath, two heart-shaped leaves (as *id.*, O67).

In narrow panels, pair of serrated leaves joined at the base (cf. *id.*, P64). In upper half of subdivided panels, chalice supporting acanthus ; in lower half, mask of Pan (*id.*, M9 ; 675 Déch.).

* *Fascia pectoralis* (Daremberg-Saglio, vol. 2, pt. 2, p. 980).—D.A.

A stamped bowl 37 of Aventinus, illustrated by Curle, *Newstead*, p. 227, fig. 3, with mask of Pan and similar heart-shaped leaf is dated in the Antonine period, A.D. 140-180. This potter worked at Lezoux in the third period, after A.D. 110, (Déch. I, p. 253).

6 (R.F. 173). Large bowl 37 (restored) fabric of Lezoux, found at Burgh-by-Sands, near the Roman Wall.

Clay, hard heavy; glaze, thick dull. Height $5\frac{7}{16}$ ins.; diams., rim $8\frac{7}{8}$, base $3\frac{7}{8}$ ins.

Beneath an ovolo, full-width zone, bordered above by a bead-row and below by a fillet.

In large double medallions, man erect, full face, holding scarf, 330 Déch. and Apollo, 55 Déch.; on either side and in spandrels, double lozenges used by Doeccus.

In demi-medallions, cantharus, cf. 1073 Déch., basket used by Caletius, 1084 Déch., and reels, 1111 Déch. In lower divisions of panels with bead-row border (tied in angles with rosette-knots) cupid (not in Déch.) and reels, 1111 Déch., and stag, as 854 Déch. In narrow panels, vertical bead-row ending below in rosette and above in two-leafed ornament as 1161 Déch.

The style of large medallions is dated by Déchelette in the third period of Lezoux, after A.D. 110. The factory of Doeccus flourished principally in the time of Hadrian, A.D. 117-138 (see Appendix).

7 (R.F. 172). Large bowl 37, Lezoux fabric, found on site of gaol, Carlisle.

Height, $5\frac{13}{16}$ ins.; diams., rim $10\frac{1}{16}$, base $4\frac{1}{4}$ ins.

Ovolo border; *ova* thick rimmed and wide apart. Full-height zone of large scroll-pattern, bordered above by a bead-row and below by a fillet.

In upper lobes of scroll, large single leaf on long curved stalk and birds (sparrows?) used by Cinnamus (*Rottweil* 1912, p. 50, pl. XXX, 8, on stamped bowl 37; *Cannstatt*, p. 44, pl. XXXIX, 11, imitated by Reginus).

In under lobes of scroll, large double medallion framing Apollo seated holding lyre, 52 Déch., used by Cinnamus and Paternus; in the spandrels small circles used by Cinnamus, and twists.

This bowl is attributable to Cinnamus or a contemporary potter about A.D. 130-170 (*Newstead*, pp. 228-9, A.D. 140-180; *Wroxeter* I, p. 42, A.D. 120-170).

8 (R.F. 105). Small bowl 37 (restored) East Gaulish (Heiligenberg?) fabric, found in Carlisle.

Height, $3\frac{13}{16}$ ins.; diams., rim $7\frac{1}{2}$, base $2\frac{15}{16}$ ins.

Ovolo border; *ova* slender, well rounded, rosettes as tassels attached on right.

Incoherent imitation of the polyzonal and panel styles of Lezoux potters. These are filled with figures and ornaments having no artistic affinity, borrowed from the same source. Field bordered by wavy line above and by fillet below.

In wide panels with wavy vertical borders, Amazon on horseback fighting (cf. 153 Déch., *Heiligenberg*, pl. XX, 4, 14); in lower space, spirals (*id.*, pl. XVIII, 9, on mould of Ciriuna, who worked between A.D. 85-160†).

In upper half of panel to r., cock fighting, 1025 Déch.; in lower half, bear? cf. 955 Déch.

Open-work laurel-wreath as lower border, often used by East Gaulish potters in this position (*Heiligenberg*, pl. XXIX, 2, 8, on bowl 37 of Ianus; pl. XXXVI, 3-5, on like bowl of Cerialis). Reubel, p. 25, says Cerialis worked at Lezoux, Bregenz, Heiligenberg and Rheinzabern between A.D. 110-160.

9 (42-14). Small bowl 37, East Gaulish or Upper German fabric, found on site of City Picture House, English Street, Carlisle.

Height, $3\frac{3}{16}$ ins.; diams., rim 8, base $3\frac{1}{2}$ ins.

Beneath the ovolo border, a bead-row bordered zone of free animals, panther (*Heiligenberg*, pl. XXIX, no. 12) used by Ianus, who is said by Forrer, though the dates are not accepted by all authorities, to have worked there A.D. 100-120, and at Rheinzabern A.D. 120-145; stag (*ibid.*, pl. XX, no. 1); lion (*Ludowici* II, p. 196, T3), alternating with tree used by Ianus, Belsus and Cerialis, all closely contemporary potters (*Heiligenberg*, pl. XXIX, no. 11; *Ludowici*, III, p. 248, P103*; Reubel, *Rom. Töpfer in Rheinzabern*, p. 35).

In spaces above and below the animals, five-leaved cluster on curved stalk springing from the borders (Forrer, *op. cit.*, no. 10; *Ludowici* II, p. 209, P54).

The ornamented zone bordered above and below by grooves.

PLATE II.—A. TERRA SIGILLATA, EMBOSSED.

Fragments of Bowls, Forms 29 and 30. Nos. 10-22.

10 (T.H. 1892, 212). Fragment of bowl 29, La Graufesenque fabric, I period, A.D. 30-80.

Clay, hard red; glaze, thin glossy intact.

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† Ciriuna may be safely dated A.D. 120-160.—D.A.

Portions of frieze and soffit. Four zones of ornaments bordered by bead-rows, zigzag lines and lower fillet.

(1) On frieze : stalky scroll-pattern filled above and below the main stem with tendril, spiral-stalked rosette (as on no. **1**), heart-shaped blossom (*diclytra* or *dicentra*) (*Rottweil* 1912, p. 2, pl. I, 2 ; *Pompeii*, fig. 4, S, and 29, A.D. 77-79). *Torus*.

(2) On side angle ; narrow 3-leaf wreath (type *Walters*, pl. XXXIII, 19).

(3) On soffit ; animals separated by plants, dog, 926 Déch. (*Rottweil* 1912, p. 22, pl. XI, 1 ; *id.* 1907, p. 24, pl. V, 1) ; wild boar (*Rottweil* 1912, p. 21, pl. IX, 11 ; XI, 1 ; XII, 5, 6 ; *Pompeii*, 12) ; clump of grass (*Rottweil* 1907, p. 21, pl. I, 7 ; p. 25, pl. V, 4).

(4) Lancet-shaped leaves with slender mid-rib (*Rottweil* 1912, p. 15, pl. VI, 1, etc. ; *Silchester*, pp. 39, 41, pl. XIII, 55, 64, A.D. 69-96). B.-F. 3.

11 (T.H. 1892, 106). Small fragment of bowl 29, La Grauf. fabric, I period.

Clay, hard bright red ; glaze good.

Portion of soffit. Two zones of ornament, two bordering bead-rows and neatly grooved lower moulding.

(1) Gadroons, i.e. raised ribs (*Rottweil* 1912, p. 12, pl. V, 1-12, Nero-Vespasian period, A.D. 54-79 ; Déch. I, p. 97, fig. 65, on bowl 29 of Mommo ; *Silchester*, p. 25, pl. X, 15, of like date).

(2) Metopes with lateral bead-rows ending in rosettes, framing pyramid of scaled leaflets, and oblique zigzag lines alternating with lion (*Rottweil* 1912, p. 23, pl. XI, 1, etc. ; *Walters* M 308 ; 748 Déch.). In the centre of the inside of the bowl is the stamp OF/////SEN, the S reversed (Passenus) ; for date see Appendix. B.-F. 9.

12 (T.H. 1892, 115). Fragment of bowl 29, La Grauf. fabric, I period.

Clay, good hard red ; glaze, glossy intact.

Portion of base and soffit. Two zones of decoration with bead-row borders and neatly grooved lower moulding.

(1) Narrow 3-leaf wreath on angle of side (blurred and indistinct).

(2) Composite scroll-pattern. In curvatures above the main stem, two divergent blossoms (*Newstead*, p. 205, 5, 15, Flavian period), and little bud on long curved stalks. In lower spaces, detached floral design with little sceptre-head blossoms (*Rottweil*, 1912, p. 16, pl. VI, 15 ; VII, 12 ; *Pompeii*, fig. 4, R, A.D. 77-79 ; Silchester, pp. 47, 48, pl. XVII, 9, 14).

In the centre potter's stamp OFCREST (*retro*) ; for date of Crestus see Appendix. B.-F., 8.

13 (T.H. 1892, 107). Fragment of bowl 29, La Grauf. fabric, I period.

Clay, good hard red; glaze, poorish glossy.

Portion of soffit, with *torus* and two zones of decoration; bead-row as upper, and grooved moulding as lower border.

(1) S-shaped ornaments (*Rottweil*, 1912, pl. VII, 14; *Walters, Cat.*, M 1178, fig. 189).

(2) Composite scroll-pattern. In curvatures above the main stem, two divergent blossoms (*Rottweil* 1907, p. 24, pl. IV, 14), and little bud on long curved stalks. In lower curvatures, detached floral design (cf. *id.*, p. 21, pl. II, 1).

Potter's stamp inside OFCREST, the S reversed; for Crestus, see Appendix. B.-F. 6.

14 (T.H. 1892, 215). Fragment of bowl 29, La Grauf. fabric, I period.

Clay, hard pale reddish grey; glaze, good.

Portions of two zones of ornaments between bead-rows and neatly grooved lower moulding.

On frieze, small part of composite scroll-pattern with scaled leaflets in under space. *Torus*.

On soffit, pairs of festoons and tassels consisting of wreaths of leaves (cf. *Hofheim* 1912, pl. XXVI, 3; XXVII, 3) and saltire pattern. In festoons, loop-stalked leaves (cf. Déch., I, fig. 114; *Rottweil*, 1912, p. 10, pl. III, 8), bird on upright stem, 1009 Déch. Three-leaf cluster as tassel (*Rottweil* 1912, p. 3, pl. I, 6).

In spandrels, hare or rabbit, 946 Déch.

In saltire, three-leaf cluster (as tassels on soffit) and loop-stalked leaves.

Potter's stamp (inside) COSIRV (Cosius et Rufinus); for date see Appendix. B.-F. 7.

15 (T.H. 1892, 214). Fragment of bowl 29, La Grauf. fabric, II period, A.D. 80-110.

Clay, hard dull red; glaze, strong, glossy, intact.

Portion of soffit with *torus*, composite scroll-pattern, bead-row borders and grooved lower moulding.

In curvatures above the main stem, pairs of triangular serrated leaves (*Rottweil* 1912, p. 38, pl. XXI, 1-4, 7-11, etc.) and little buds on long curved stalks, rabbit (*ibid.*, 9), bird (*ibid.*, 1). In lower curvatures, alternately, scaled leaflets, and spaces subdivided by horizontal zigzag lines; above the lines, fan-shaped plants composed of three three-leaf clusters (*ibid.*, IV, 5), and below, wild animal devouring human remains, 967 Déch. (*Rottweil* 1907, XIV, 11; *Pompeii*, 77, A.D. 77-79). As props for horizontal

dividing line, beaded bars with moulded bases (*Rottweil* 1912, pl. V, 17, XVIII, 6).

Potter's stamp inside, CIA[MILVS; for date see Appendix. B.-F.1.

16 (10-17). Fragment of bowl 29, La Grauf. fabric.

Clay, thin hard pale red; glaze, fine intact.

Portions of roulette-notched cornice, frieze and soffit, with two zones of ornaments, *torus*, bead-row borders and lower grooved moulding.

On frieze (1) Metopes, dolphin, 1049 Déch. (*Pompeii*, 64, 66), swan (*ibid.*, 67 *) alternating with scaled leaflets horizontally placed.

On soffit (2) in medallion, laureated head in profile, 667 Déch., alternating with groups of vertical zigzag lines.

Part of potter's stamp (inside) OFR\ . . . . (Rufinus?) see Appendix.

17 (T.H. 1892-110). Fragment of bowl 29.

Clay, hard red; glaze, thin glossy intact.

Portions of frieze and soffit with two zones of ornaments, *torus*, two bead-row borders, and lower grooved moulding.

On frieze (1). Stalky scroll-pattern filled above and below main stem with tendril, deltoid blossom (as on no. **1**) and cable-twisted blossom (*Rottweil* 1912, p. 27, pl. XIII, 1-12, freely used by Germanus, A.D. 70-80; *Pompeii*, 2, on bowl of Mommo, A.D. 77-79).

On soffit (2). Panels separated and subdivided by zigzag lines, roebuck, 859 Déch. (*Rottweil* 1912, p. 16, pl. VII, 1, 2), two greyhounds, 920 Déch.; demi-medallion framing three poppy-heads (*Newstead*, p. 209, 5), alternating with saltire pattern filled with three poppy-heads (*Rottweil* 1912, p. 9, pl. III, 7) and cable-twisted blossoms, as above.

Potter's stamp inside, NIGRINI; for date see Appendix. B.-F., 4.

18 (T.H. 1892). Fragment of bowl 37.

Clay, hard red, thin; glaze, fine, crackled.

Portion of soffit, with two zones of decoration bordered by zigzag lines and lower grooved moulding.

(1) Free animals separated by fan-shaped plants (*Pompeii*, 13, fig. 4, E), deer (*Rottenburg*, p. 38, pl. III, 1).

(2) S-shaped ornaments (*Pompeii*, 74, on bowl 37 of Memor; *Rottweil*, 1912, p. 3, pl. I, 5; IX, 15. See also no. **13** preceding). B.-F., 5.

* Not quite the same bird; perhaps 1004 Déch.—D.A.

19 (O.M). Small fragment from lower edge of bowl 30.

Clay, fine hard red; glaze, thick glossy intact.

Portion of full-height zone of panels with zigzag borders ending in rosettes, and lower grooved moulding.

In panel to r. saltire filled on sides with loop-stalked diamond-shaped leaf (*Hofheim* 1912, pl. XXIV, 10) and below with scaled leaflets.

In panel to l. loop-stalked cabled blossom (*Silchester*, p. 53, pl. XVIII B, c. A.D. 84-100) and large leaf (cf. *Hofheim* 1912, pl. XXV, 5).

20 (22-04-2). Side-fragment of bowl 30, Rheinzabern fabric. See also **90**, which appears to be a portion of the same bowl.

Clay, soft dull red to greyish; glaze, poor, rubbed and fumed to nearly black on the inside surface.

Ovolo; *ova* stunted, partly cut off by a groove, and decayed.

Full-height zone of ornaments; bead-row upper border; vertical and horizontal bead-rows bordering a subdivided panel. In upper division, demi-medallion suspended from reels, framing dolphin, as 1050 Déch. In lower division, spread-eagle, 981 Déch.

The dolphin, 1050 Déch., is employed on bowls of a number of second-century Lezoux potters, including Advocisus, Albucius, Cinnamus, Paternus, etc.

21 (11-17). Side-fragment of bowl 30, Lezoux fabric.

Clay, fine hard red; glaze, matt-glossy intact.

Bead-rim, wide smooth zone, and separating groove.

Ovolo; *ova* well formed; long-corded pierced rosettes as tassels.

Zone of ornaments in full-height and subdivided panels bordered by zigzag lines tied in the angles with rosettes. In upper division, two-rimmed demi-medallion framing leaf-ornament.

In middle division, row of four small circles.

In lower division, fig-tree, 1140 Déch.

In panel to right, portion of human figure.

22 (O.M.). Side-fragment of bowl 30, Lezoux fabric.

Clay, hard light red; glaze, thin glossy.

Ovolo border; large thick-rimmed *ova* wide apart; cabled cords without tassels, such as are commonly used by Cinnamus (cf. *Rottweil* 1912, pl. XXX, 8).

Full-height zone of ornaments and slender upper bead-row border. In large two-rimmed medallion, cantoned with little circles, Diana seated on a rock, 68 Déch., used by Cinnamus, and Cupid, 240 Déch.

The style and ornaments are evidently those of Cinnamus or one of his contemporaries, who were at work about the middle of the second century A.D.

PLATE III.—A. TERRA SIGILLATA EMBOSSED.

Fragments of bowls, Form 37. Nos. 23-37.

23 a-d. Four fragments of bowl 29/37, which represents a sort of transitional form from the earlier form 29 Drag. to 37 Drag., found at Nether Denton in 1911 (Simpson, these *Transactions*, N.S. XIII, p. 385, fig. 40, section pl. 26, 1, and B.-F., 25). B.-F. 36, from a Corbridge deposit, is another example of the same form made by the same potter, apparently of late Domitian and early Trajan period.

a-b. These two have bead-rim and wide smooth zone separated from ornaments by a deep groove, without the ovolo border. One retains single rosette ornaments and part of a fighting cock; the other has two small nude male figures; one is 403 Déch., used by Lezoux potters, Cinnamus, Iullinus and Libertus (*Ludowici*, M 252); and the other, as Déch. 397 reversed. In the spaces are small circles and double circles (the double circles, *Silchester*, p. 75, pl. XXVII, 88, 93; *Walters, Cat.*, M 1302, fig. 200, M 1546, fig. 215; *Cannstatt*, p. 21, pl. VIII, 13, ascribed to Granius, A.D. 110-200 *).

c-d. Two of the fragments retain portions of two zones of decoration on frieze and soffit, separated by a *torus* moulding on the angle of the side between two bead-rows and lower girth-groove.

(1) On frieze, two cocks fighting, as 1025 Déch., used by Cerialis (?); small full-face mask within a looped semicircular arch, and row of small circles, alternating with small figures (as above) and separated by vertical bead-rows ending in rosettes. In spaces, single rosettes, circles and double circles (as above). (2) On soffit, zone of panels separated by bead-rows ending in rosettes, framing ornaments composed of central mask (as above) within five concentric circles, notched and plain. In the spandrels, small circles and rosettes (as above).

A bowl of similar shape, with a zone of concentric circular ornaments, semicircular arches framing ornaments and grooves above and below, without ovolo border (*Rottenburg*, p. 47, pl. VIII, 7) is attributed to Reginus who worked in several localities, Mandeure, Baden, Heiligenberg, Rheinzabern and Kräherwald, from about A.D. 90-145.†

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* Also Wroxeter 1912, p. 38, fig. 12; *ibid.* 1913, p. 30, no. 22, pl. XIII, 15, on bowl of Ianuarius before A.D. 130.—D.A.

† Knorr figures another (*op. cit.* pl. VIII, 8) made by the "potter of the small medallions" (=Forrer's "F. Meister": *Heiligenberg*, p. 153, pl. XXXII-XXXV). His date for Reginus is certainly too early and is based on the shape of the vessel mentioned in the text—a shape, however, which was still in use well after 100 A.D. (See next foot-note).—D.A.

Two fragments of a bowl of like form from the waste heaps beside the workshop of Ianus at Heiligenberg (p. 148, fig. 56; p. 151, pl. xxx, fig. 8) are attributed by Forrer to his working period in that locality from A.D. 95-120, and the form is described (*id.*, p. 151) as special to the last quarter of the first century.

Déchelette (I, p. 179, fig. 101) illustrates a bowl 29/37, of Lezoux fabric, having a bead-rim and wide smooth zone above the ornaments, as on form 37 (without the ovolo border), belonging to the first period, A.D. 40-75.*

24 (16-12). Fragment of a bowl 37, found at Nether Denton in 1911.

Clay, soft orange red; glaze, poor dull, little better than a clay slip.†

Ovolo; *ova* large well formed, oblique; beaded L-ended cords as tassels.

Portion of two zones of ornament with zigzag upper, beaded middle borders.

(1) Diverse scroll-pattern. In upper spaces, pairs of leaves on looped stalks, obliquely set.

In lower spaces, pairs of open-work heart-shaped leaves on looped stalks. Cf. very similar open-work leaves on bowl 37, probably Gaulish, of about 110-180 A.D., *Cannstatt*, p. 19, pl. VII, 1.

(2) Small section of lower zone. No ornaments remaining.

25 (O.M.). Fragment of bowl 37, La Grauf. fabric.

Clay, hard light red; glaze, good glossy intact.

Ovolo border; *ova* tall, well formed, close; tassels three-pointed (*Pompeii*, 54-63, on bowls 37, probably of Mommo, A.D. 77-79).

Portions of two zones of ornaments between zigzag borders:

(1) Festoon and tassel pattern; outer rim of festoon dentated; four-leaf cluster as tassel (*Pompeii*, 28, fig. 4, L); rosettes in spandrels. In festoons, spiral-stalked rosettes (see no. **1** preceding); and birds (1036 Déch. ?).

(2) Diverse scroll-pattern. In spaces above the main stem, pairs of leaves (Déch. I, pl. VI, 4), and four-leaved cluster (as above) on long curved stalks. In lower spaces, similar pairs of

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* But other pieces in the Plicque collection (from Lezoux) strongly suggest by their decoration a second-century date. Pieces of the same form occur at Leicester, Colchester, Corbridge (mentioned above), in two graves at Rheinzabern (*Ludowici* III, p. 134) and in a grave at Trier (*Fölzer*, p. 56f, pl. XIII, .—D.A.

† The soil of Nether Denton attacks the glaze of the pottery and the bad quality of this piece is not the result of bad workmanship; cf. no. **31**.—D.A.

leaves. Scroll-bindings as *Rottweil* 1912, p. 5, pl. I, 15,* Flavian period. B.-F., 13, A.D. 70-80.

26 (T.H. 1892). Fragment of small bowl 37, La Grauf. fabric.

Ovolo border; *ova* tall well formed; tassels three-pointed. See also no. **25** preceding.

Portions of two zones of ornament bordered by two zigzag lines and fillet.

(1) Metopes with lateral bead-rows ending in rosettes. In panel to l., central rosette of ten petals in a circle, cantoned with small rosettes and vertical zigzag. In middle panel, lion as 747 or 748 Déch. (*Newstead*, p. 211, 2, Flavian) and three rosettes. In panel to r., scaled leaflets.

(2) Festoon-and-tassel pattern. Festoons with dentated rims framing deltoid-blossom (as on no. **1**) and small bud, sceptre shaped (*Pompeii*, 8; *Rottweil* 1912, p. 12, pl. IV, 8, Flavian) on long curved stalks. Six-leafed cluster as tassel (*Pompeii*, 30, on bowl 29 of Vitalis, fig. 4, o). B.-F., 12, A.D. 70-80.

27 (16.04). Fragment of bowl 37, Lezoux fabric.

Clay, hard light red; glaze, thin and poor.

Small portions of two zones of figures and two horizontal bead-row borders.

(1) In upper zone, foreleg of griffin.

(2) In lower zone, sphinx, 496 Déch.

28 (O.M. 504). Small fragment of bowl 37, La Grauf. fabric.

Clay, hard dull red; glaze, thick glossy crackled.

Ovolo; *ova* well formed; pierced knobs or rosettes on left.

Portion of cabled border above, and tree with undulating branches ending in single clusters of six leaflets. Cf. 1136 Déch. Clusters of six leaflets were freely used by La Grauf. potters in this period from Claudius to Vespasian, A.D. 41-79, chiefly by Germanus † and his contemporaries, A.D. 70-80 (*Rottweil* 1912, p. 34, pl. XVII, 5, 10; p. 39, pl. XXI, 2; *Hofheim* 1912, XXVI, 5, XXVII, 14*b*, A.D. 40-51; *Pompeii*, fig. 4, o, A.D. 77-79; *Walters, Cat.*, M 407, fig. 115).

29 (12-17). Fragment of small bowl 37, La Grauf. fabric.

Portion of zone of full-height and subdivided panels, rough beaded borders; rosettes at the angles.

Subdivided panel to l., in upper division, hinder part of animal figure; in lower division, fan-shaped clump of three-leafed plants (*Pompeii*, fig. 4, G, A.D. 77-79).

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* This does not seem to me to be quite the same; cf. *Pompeii*, 21*a*, p. 36, for a similar one, also different from Knorr's.—D.A.

† There is reason to date Germanus to A.D. 60-85.—D.A.

Intermediate subdivided panel; in upper division, dog, 916 Déch.; in lower division, two cake-bearers, 577 Déch. (*Rottweil* 1912, p. 33, pl. XVI, 9; end of first century.*).

In full-height panel, two *sileni*, 323 Déch.

In upper division of panel to r, squirrel?

Narrow wreath of three leaflets as lower border.

30 (T.H. 1892). Fragment of bowl 37, La Grauf. fabric.

Clay, hard red; glaze, good intact.

Ovolo; *ova* well formed; tassels on r. thickened and inbent to left below.

Portions of two zones; rough bead-row borders; angle rosettes.

(1) Narrow wreath of ≻-shaped leaves (*Newstead*, p. 205, 2; p. 211, 5, Flavian period).

(2) Zone of panels, and medallions. In subdivided panel to l., upper division, oblique bead-rows and pyramid of scaled leaflets; lower division, cupid, 280 Déch., and loop-stalked leaf. In double medallion, lion, blurred and incomplete; loop-stalked leaves in spandrels (incomplete). In panel to r., saltire-pattern, filled with four-branched palm, 1122 Déch. (*Rottweil* 1912, pl. XXI, 1, Flavian period). B.-F., 10, second half of first century.

31 (16-12). Fragment of bowl 37, La Grauf. fabric, found at Nether Denton, 1911.

Clay, soft red; glaze, thin matt, little better than a clay slip.

Ovolo; *ova* stunted, cut off by groove, and blurred.

Portions of subdivided panels and medallions; rough and blurred bead-row borders.

In upper division of panel, hare, 951 Déch., used by Medilus and Volus(enus); in lower division, vertical notched or beaded bars.

In spandrels of medallions, loop-stalked leaf (*Newstead*, p. 205, 8, on bowl 29, Flavian period).

32 (13-17). Fragment of bowl 37, La Grauf. fabric.

Clay, hard red; glaze, thick glossy.

Ovolo; *ova* blurred; three-forked tassels as used by Germanus.

Portions of two zones; rough bead-row borders.

(1) Animals separated by trees; hind, 881 Déch., used by Germanus (*Rottweil* 1907, p. 27, pl. VIII, 1; *ibid.*, 1912, p. 26, pl. XII, 21, Flavian period); trees with curved branches ending in clusters of leaflets blurred (*ibid.*, p. 34, pl. XVII, 5, 10) with upright central stem supporting bird (blurred).

(2) Narrow wreath of open work ≻-shaped leaves and groove below (*Walters*, pl. XXXIII, 12).

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* See *Pompeii*, 35, 54, 74, on bowls 29 and 37 of Rufinus, Mommo (?) and Memor.—D.A.

33 (16-12). Base fragment of bowl 37, La Grauf. fabric, found at Nether Denton.

Clay, soft light red; glaze, soft dull darker red, rubbed.

Small portion of two zones; rough bead-row between.

(1) Nile-goose (or swan) 1017 Déch. (*Rottweil* 1912, p. 7, pl. II, 10; *Silchester*, p. 41, pl. XIII, 66, Flavian period); fig-tree ?, wild boar, mutilated (*Pompeii*, 12, used by Mommo, A.D. 77-79).

(2) Narrow three-leaf wreath (*Pompeii*, 29, used by Vitalis) reversed.

34 (14-17). Fragment of bowl 37.

Clay, good hard red; glaze, good intact.

In place of ovolo, a zone of small double circles, the outer rim beaded, as on no. **23** above and **35**, **71** below,

Small section of zone of panels; slender zigzag upper and beaded vertical borders.

35 (O.M. 505). Fragment of bowl 37, Lezoux (?) fabric.

Clay, good hard red; glaze, good glossy.

Portion of zone of free figures, lower bead-row border, and zone of little double circles (the outer rim beaded); see no. **23** above.

Two pigmies fighting to r. and l. of crane, as on no. **55** (not in Déch.); pigmy to l. 437 Déch.; pigmy to r. (not in Déch.). Circular vine-branch with leaf, and tendrils and bird eating grapes (*Cannstatt*, p. 17, pl. V, 6, 9) cf. no. **71** below; acanthus leaf (*ibid.*, VI., 2, 3, 4).

36 (O.M.). Fragment of bowl 37.

Clay, thick hard (fracture sharp-edged); glaze, thick matt-glossy.

Ovolo border; *ova* large and well rounded below; rosettes (?) on zigzag cords as tassels.

Portion of zone of free animals, lioness, 795 Déch., hind legs of wild boar. In spaces above and below, three-leaf floweret resembling *fleur-de-lis* (1164 Déch., variant smaller) and *Rottenburg*, p. 42, pl. V, 10. Narrow two-leaf wreath as lower border (cf. *Rottweil*, 1912, p. 36, pl. XVIII, 8; p. 41, pl. XXIII, 4).

37 (P.B. 7-11). Fragment of bowl 37, Lezoux fabric, found at Poltross Burn.

Clay, soft sandy light red; glaze, dull corroded.

Ovolo; *ova* long one-rimmed; rosettes on zigzag cords as tassels.

Portion of a zone of figures in wide and narrow panels; zigzag lines as upper and vertical borders, tied in the angles with trefoil

loops. Figures from l. to r.—Man nude, running to l., 397 Déch. ; warriors, 106, 102 Déch. ; archer, 169 Déch. ; cupid (248 Déch. ?)

Below central figures three-leaf floweret, as in ornament 1178 Déch. (*Cannstatt*, p. 19, pl. VII, 2, as narrow wreath).

This fragment is illustrated by Bosanquet (*Poltross Burn*, these *Transactions*, N.S. XI, p. 455, pl. VI, 1), and attributed to first period of the milecastle, 120-180 A.D.*

PLATE IV.—A. TERRA SIGILLATA, EMBOSSED.

Fragments of Bowls, form 37. Nos. 38-53.

38 (O.M.). Fragment of bowl 37, La Grauf. fabric.

Clay, hard red ; glaze, good glossy.

Portion of full-height zone of panels ; vertical bead-row borders, and lower fillet. In panels to r. and l., *sileni*, 323 Déch. In middle panel, man in short tunic and buskins, 510 Déch. (*Rottweil* 1907, p. 32, pl. XII, 1, 2 ; *ibid.*, p. 34, pl. XIII, 4, 5 ; Silenus, *ibid.*, pl. XII, 2, attributed by Knorr to period of Vespasian, A.D. 69-79). In space on l. in middle panel, loop-stalked cabled blossom, used by Germanus and his contemporaries, 70-80 A.D.†

39 (O.M. 506). Fragment of bowl 37, Lezoux fabric, found at Friar's Court, Carlisle, in 1882.

Clay, hard ; glaze, poor.

Portion of zone of full-height panels ; large vertical bead-row borders, and lower fillet.

In middle panel, cupid, 265 Déch., used by Albucius, Banuus, Lastuca, Libertus, Paternus.

Ornaments in panels to r. and l. wanting almost entirely.

40 (O.M. 507). Fragment of bowl 37, Lezoux fabric.

Clay, hard ; glaze, dull red glossy intact.

Bead-rim, narrow smooth zone, deep double groove and large rivet-hole above ovolo border ; *ova* large ; notched cords and pierced knobs as tassels.

Portion of zone of full-height panels ; bead-rows as upper, vertical and subdividing borders ; fillet as lower border. In panel to l., cuirassed warrior, cf. 103 Déch. In panel to r., female dancer, 222 Déch. Both figures were used by Albucius (*Silchester*, p. 44, pl. XVI, p. 71). The leaf ornament in the lower division was also used by Albucius, for whom see Appendix.

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* The decoration suggests the Hadrianic period.—D.A.

† See note to no. **28** above.

41 (O.M. 508). Side fragment of bowl 37.

Clay, hard; glaze, thin dull.

Wide smooth zone. Ovolo; *ova* well rounded and separate; notched cords and pierced knobs as tassels.

Portion of zone of full-height panels; bead-rows as upper, vertical and subdividing borders; fillet as lower border. In panel to l. scarf-dancer, 217 Déch., used by Albucius. In middle panel, upper division, cuirassed warrior, as in no. **40**; lower division, leaf-ornament.

In panel to r., man nude standing full-face, not in Déch.

42 (T.H. 1892). Fragment of bowl 37, Lezoux fabric.

Clay, hard; glaze, poor intact.

Bead-rim, wide smooth zone. Ovolo border; large *ova*, pierced knobs on cabled cords as tassels (*Newstead*, p. 221, fig. 1, Antonine period, A.D. 140-180). Portion of a zone of full-height panels; slender bead-rows as upper, vertical and dividing borders; rosettes as upper terminals.

In panel to l., Minerva, 77 Déch.

In upper part of middle panel, cupid, 229 Déch., used by Advocisus, Banuus and Mammilius.

In lower part of middle panel, pigmy.

In upper division of panel to r., Paris, 490 Déch., used by Advocisus.

In small sections to r. and l., part of $\frac{3}{4}$ medallion framing dolphin.

43 (15-17). Fragment of bowl 37, Lezoux fabric.

Clay, hard dull red; glaze, glossy darker red.

Ovolo border; *ova* well rounded, wide apart; rosettes on cabled cords as tassels.

Portion of a zone of full-height panels; bead-rows as upper and vertical borders; fillet as lower border.

In panels to l. and r., Venus, 175 Déch., used by Advocisus.

In intermediate panel, framed in medallion, pigmy, used beneath wild boar, 834 Déch., by Borillus, Cinnamus, etc.; below, three small circles.

In wide panel, two warriors fighting, 137 Déch.,* used by Divixtus.

44 *a-b* (P.B. 7-11). Two fragments of bowl 37, from Poltross Burn.

Clay, hard dull red; glaze, thin flaky.

Ovolo border; *ova* stunted thick impressions of square-faced punch; L-ended bars as tassels.

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* And 134 Déch. ?—D.A.

Portion of two full-height panels; slender zigzag lines as upper and vertical border, tied in the upper angles with rosette-knot, from which projects a single acanthus leaf.

In panel to l., warrior drawing his sword, as 111 Déch., used by Illixo (*Rottenburg*, p. 59, pl. XVI, 10, bowl of Reginus).

In panel to r., head and forepaws of lioness, 793 Déch., used by Butrio, Cinnamus, Putriu, Sacer (*Rottenburg*, p. 55, pl. XII, 3, 5, 10; on bowls 37 of Ianus, who worked in Heiligenberg and Rheinzabern from about A.D. 100-145).

For report of discovery see Bosanquet, *Poltross Burn*, these *Transactions*, N.S. XI, p. 456, pl. VI, 2. First period of the mile-castle, A.D. 120-180, probably Hadrianic.

45 (A.T. 1*a* or 1*b*). Fragment of bowl 37, Lezoux fabric, from Appletree Turret (therefore labelled A.T.), found in one of the two lowest strata, i.e. before 200 A.D.

Clay, fine hard light red; glaze, matt intact.

Ovolo border; *ova* well rounded, slender rimmed; rosette tassels (blurred).

Portion of two full-height panels; slender bead-rows as upper and vertical borders.

In panel to l., nude male figure holding scarf, as 330 Déch., and figure holding a *cantharus ?* not in Déch.

In panel to r., tripod, cf. 1070 Déch.

For report of discovery see Newbold, these *Transactions*, N.S. XIII, p. 352, pl. XIX, 6, who suggests an early Hadrianic date.

46 (O.M. 509). Fragment of bowl 37, Lezoux fabric.

Clay, hard; glaze, thin glossy.

Ovolo damaged; bars without tassels attached to *ova* on left.

Portion of a full-height and subdivided panel with slender bead-row borders and rosette-knots.

In upper division of panel to l., two-rimmed demi-medallion suspended from reels, containing beardless mask (indistinct), 725 Déch. (?).

In lower division, bird as 1011 Déch., used by Albucius, Cinnamus, Libertus, Paternus. In panel to r., Apollo, 57 Déch., used by Albucius, Butrio, Carantinus, Iullinus, Libertus, Paternus, potters of Lezoux.

Probably Hadrianic, A.D. 117-138.

47 (36-14, 49). Fragment of bowl 37, Lezoux fabric.

Clay, hard red; glaze, glossy surface corroded, decayed and grooved by careless throwing on the potter's wheel.

Ovolo narrow (cut off above); rosettes as tassels.

Portions of six alternately wide and narrow full-height panels; zigzag lines as upper and vertical borders; rosettes as knots and terminals; fillet as lower border.

In three narrow panels, ornament composed of cabled stem with four symmetrical branches on a circle, 1116 Déch., used by Rentius and Secundinus (*Rottenburg*, p. 50, pl. IX, 1, on a signed bowl 37 of Arcanus).

In two wider panels, circular vine-branch, cf. 1148 Déch.

For references see no. **71** below.

In middle panel, man nude holding scarf, 330 Déch.*

48 (O.M. 510). Fragment of bowl 37.

Clay, hard; glaze, thick darker red, rubbed.

Portions of three full-height panels and two small parts of two others on either hand; slender bead-row borders and fillet below.

In two narrow panels, vertical row of *fleur-de-lis* shaped ornaments, cf. Déch. 1163 (upper portion) and 1165; also no. 68 following.

In middle panel, saltire-pattern with cabled midrib and terminals, and loop-stalked cabled-blossoms in lateral triangles; cf. *Ludowici* III, p. 217, O 151.†

In small sections of two subdivided panels, horizontal row of small circles, two-rimmed medallion, and in lower compartment three-leaf flower (*Pompeii*, fig. 4, F).

49 (ϕ 1892-12). Fragment of bowl 37, Lezoux? fabric, found in Bank Street, Carlisle, 1878.

Clay, hard light red; glaze, hard but rough on ornamented zone.

Ovolo nearly all cut off above and blurred.

Portions of three full-height (two wide and one narrow intermediate) panels; slender bead rows as upper and vertical borders.

In wide panel to l., Diana or Luna driving a *biga*, 73 Déch., cupid, 252 Déch. (?) spirally fluted column, 1094 Déch., surmounted by a heart-shaped outline leaf-ornament (*Rottweil* 1907, p. 44, pl. XX, 5, A.D. 110-180; XVII, 1, 5, 14, 20‡; *Cannstatt*, p 19, pl. VII, 1), singly in spaces reels 1111 Déch. In wide panel to r., the same design repeated, except the cupid, which is replaced by cupid 246 Déch.

In narrow middle panel, baluster on a quadrangular pedestal,

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* Probably Hadrianic.—D.A.

† This occurs also on 29 and 37 in the Plicque Collection from Lezoux. The mixture of South Gaulish and Lezoux elements suggests an East Gaulish or German origin.—D.A.

‡ Satto's leaf, here referred to, is different (at the tip).—D.A.

wound with a garland of ivy, 1092 Déch., and bordered by slender bead-rows.

50 (16-17). Fragment of bowl 37, Lezoux fabric.

Clay, good hard red; glaze, glossy bright red.

Portions of three full-height panels, vertical bead-row borders.

In upper division of subdivided panel to l., rosette of six open-work petals.

In narrow intermediate panel, caryatid, 655 Déch. (resting on a mask?), used by several potters of Lezoux.

In panel to r., niche or shrine with triangular pediment, 1098 Déch. (upper part), on latticed rectangular columns containing man crouching to spring (discobolus?) 394 Déch.

51 (O.M. 510). Fragment of bowl 37, Lezoux fabric.

Clay, hard light red; glaze, dull dark red, and flaked from recesses.

Large ovolo with L-ended tassels (damaged).

Portion of a full-height panel and small sections of two others to r. and l., showing traces of demi-medallion; thick bead-rows as upper and vertical borders.

In middle panel, Diana with fawn, 64 Déch. (variant smaller), used by Advocisus, Banuus, Cinnamus, Decimanus, Divixtus, potters of Lezoux of about the middle of the second century.

52 (17-17). Three conjoined fragments of bowl 37, Lezoux fabric, found below Cocoa Room, Carlisle, June, 1889.

Clay, hard orange red; glaze, glossy matt intact.

Ovolo blurred and partly cut away from above.

Four full-height panels; slender bead-rows as upper and vertical borders (the latter with smaller terminal and intermediate rosettes); lower fillet.

Two groups of figures repeated in alternate panels:—

Group 1.—Hercules gathering apples in the garden of the Hesperides, 469 Déch.; small circles in the upper corners.

Group 2.—Cupid, 236 Déch. (standing on a curled leaf ornament *), victory, 484 Déch., used by second-century potters, Albucius, Aventinus, Banuus, Decimanus.

53 (A.T. 1*a* and 1*b*). Fragment of bowl 37, Gaulish fabric, found in Appletree Turret.

Clay, bright red; glaze, thin flaked off in part.

Ovolo; *ova* large well rounded, obliquely set, separated by long bars.

Portions of two full-height panels; bead-row upper and ver-

* Which occurs on a stamped bowl of Doeccus from Astwick, *V.C.H. Bedford* II, pl. 1.—D.A.

tical borders, the latter with large terminal and intermediate open-work rosettes, twists and reels, 1110 and 1111 Déch.

In panel to l., head, shoulder and laurel branch of Apollo, 56 Déch., used by Albucius, Servus.

In narrow dividing panel, beardless mask as 698 or 701 Déch., above an upright floral design with scrolls (*Cannstatt*, p. 19, pl. VII, 1, Gaulish, in the period between 120-180 A.D.*).

PLATE V.—A. TERRA SIGILLATA, EMBOSSED.

Fragments of Bowls, Form 37, Nos. 54-56, 58-70; and Form 30, No. 57.

54 (4-13, 1*a* and 1*b*). Fragment of bowl 37, Lezoux fabric, found in Birdoswald Turret.

Clay, very soft sandy light red; glaze, dull poor rubbed.

Ovolo; *ova* large wide apart; pierced balls as tassels; deeply grooved above.

Portion of full-height panel and large two-rimmed medallion, separated by a vertical "paternoster" or row of bead-like ornaments; reel 1111 Déch., as terminal.

In medallion, little cuirassed warrior, 103 Déch., used by Albucius, potter of Lezoux (for whom see Appendix).

In panel to r., top of heart-shaped open-work leaf ornament on looped stalk in angle. For references, see no. **49** above.

For report of discovery see these *Transactions*, N.S. XIII, p. 349, pl. XIX, 2; latter half of second century.

55 (O.M. 511). Fragment of bowl 37.

Clay, hard bright red; glaze, matt-glossy intact.

Ovolo; large two-looped *ova* without body; large rosettes on beaded cords as tassels.

Portions of two subdivided panels; coarse beaded upper, vertical and intermediate borders.

In upper division of panel to l., tail of lion?

In lower division, indistinct head.

In upper division of panel to r., large two-rimmed demi-medallion, outer rim cross-notched, suspended from reel 1111 Déch., framing hinder part of crane fighting, as on no. **35** above.

In lower division, row of small circles.

56 (O.M. 512). Fragment of bowl 37, Lezoux fabric.

Clay, light red; glaze, glossy flaked from recesses.

Ovolo; *ova* thick, well apart, separated by long straight bars.

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* See also these *Transactions*, N.S., XIII, p. 352, and plate XIX, 7.—D.A.

Portions of three full-height panels ; coarsely beaded upper and vertical borders ; fillet beneath.

In panel to l., hind quarters of bear, 820 Déch.

In middle panel, demi-medallion suspended from reels, 1111 Déch., framing panther, 799 Déch. ; single reel below ; in lower space, dog, 934 Déch., used by Cinnamus, Paternus, Lezoux potters, A.D. 100-150.*

In panel to r., stag, 874 Déch. ; oval feathery leaves in field.

57 (16-04). Fragment of bowl 30, Lezoux fabric.

Clay, hard dull red ; glaze, dull rubbed.

Bead-rim, wide smooth zone. Ovolo ; *ova* large thick-rimmed, well apart, separated by long straight bars.

Small portion of coarse bead-row upper border, large two-rimmed medallion and demi-medallion, suspended from reel, 1111 Déch.

In medallion, Venus resting on square column, 184 Déch., used by Putriu, Cinnamus, Doeccus ; owl, 1020 Déch.

In spandrel, reel as above.

58 (R.F. 131). Fragment of bowl 37, Lezoux fabric, found on site of Carlisle gaol.

Clay, hard light red ; glaze, poor dull red (like paint).

Ovolo ; *ova* large well-formed, well apart ; straight beaded cords without tassels.

Two full-height panels and small portions of two others. Bead-row upper and vertical borders with terminal rosettes ; fillet as lower border.

In panel to l., Vulcan, 39 Déch., used by Advocisus, Cerialis, Cinnamus ; in lower space, three-leaf ornament as on no. **65** below (q.v.).

In middle panel, two-rimmed medallion framing fore part of stag, 852 Déch. ; in space beneath, stag, 847 Déch., both used by Doccius.

In broken panel to r, lower limbs of nude male figure and lozenge-shaped ornament used by Doccius,† for whom see Appendix (*s.v.* Doeccus).

59 (O.M. 513). Fragment of bowl 37, Lezoux fabric.

Clay, hard dull red ; glaze, poor, flaked from recesses.

Portion of two zones of decoration :—

(1) Upper zone, large two-rimmed demi-medallion. In field to r., hare or rabbit, 950 Déch., used by Cinnamus, Doeccus, etc.

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* Or A.D. 120-170.—D.A.

† And by Doeccus (*Silchester*, pl. XXVI, 44).—D.A.

(2) Lower zone; portions of three panels; zigzag lines as upper and vertical borders, tied with rosette knots in angles. In panel to l., bull, not in Déch. In mid panel, cupid, 254 Déch.; in field, small leaf ornaments (cf. no. **86** below). In broken panel to r., small double medallion.

60 (O.M. 477). Fragment of bowl 37, Lezoux fabric.

Clay, hard rough dull red; glaze, poor glossy.

Lower portion of a subdivided and full-height panel; bead-row borders with terminal rosettes.

In lower division of panel to l., bird, 1010 Déch., used by Albucius, etc.

In narrow panel to r., lower part of draped female figure, 538 Déch. ?

Potter's name in raised letters on smooth zone below ornaments ADVOCISI, for whom see Appendix.

61 (18-17). Fragment of bowl 37, Lezoux fabric, found at Papcastle, 1870.

Clay, rough hard dull red; glaze, dull poor, darker red.

Portion of two subdivided panels and traces of two others containing large medallions; bead-row borders with terminal rosettes; grooved moulding below.

In upper division of panel to l., two-rimmed demi-medallion framing blurred impression of basket surmounted by two dolphins (here placed horizontally), 1069*a* Déch., used by Cinnamus, Doeccus. In lower division, cupid, 251 Déch., used by Doeccus. Broken bars in field.

In upper division of panel to r., part of two-rimmed demi-medallion. In lower division, scarf-dancer, 372 Déch., variant smaller than that used by Cinnamus. Potter's name vertically among ornaments DOIICCI (see Appendix).

62 (O.M. 416). Fragment of bowl 37, Lezoux fabric, found at Stanwix.

Clay, soft orange red; glaze, glossy on smooth, matt on ornamented zone.

Ovolo; *ova* very stunted, cut off above; pierced balls as tassels.

Portions of two large double medallions, three narrow dividing panels, wider intermediate subdivided panel; coarse beaded upper, vertical and subdividing borders, with terminal rosettes.

In medallion, cuirassed warrior, as 103 Déch., used by Albucius (cf. nos. **40, 41** above).

In middle panel, upper division, demi-medallion framing nymph or Ariadne, 309 Déch., used by Albucius. In lower division, two leaves, base to base.

In spandrels, small circles.

In narrow panels, latticed rectangular pillar (Walters, *Cat.* M. 62, pl. XI, 2, on bowl 37 of Butrio).

63 (T.H. 1892). Fragment of bowl 37, Lezoux fabric.

Clay, hard rough pale red; glaze, thin glossy.

Ovolo; *ova* squarish blurred or rubbed; tassels L-ended.

Full-height panels with bead-rows ending in circles as upper and vertical borders; fillet below. From left to right: (1) Double medallion containing central rosette and four small double circles with central rosettes; (2) Double medallion containing erotic group (*Newstead*, p. 217, fig. 4; *Camelon, Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot*, third series, vol. XI, p. 386, fig. 13; *Corbridge* 1910, p. 53, of Antonine age=A.D. 140-190); (3) Narrow, containing caryatid over full-faced mask, 656 Déch; (4) repeats (1). In (1), (2) and (4) circles in upper spandrels, reels (1111 Déch.) in lower spandrel.

Potter's stamp in raised letters on lower smooth zone, DIVIX·F (inverted) not figured; for date see Appendix.

64 (74-14). from Garlands. Fragment of bowl 37, from a bowl very similar to preceding.

Small portions of caryatid over full-face mask in narrow full-height panel and double-leaf ornament below medallion (*Newstead*, p. 227, fig. 5).

Potter's stamp DIVIX·F as before.

65 (O.M. 514). Fragment of bowl 37, Lezoux fabric.

Clay, hard pale red; glaze, thick dull.

Ovolo; *ova* large semicircular, cut off above; short thick bars between.

Portions of a subdivided and full-height panel and large two-rimmed medallion.

In upper division of panel to l., part of demi-medallion; in lower division, Vulcan, 39 Déch., used by Advocisus, Cerialis, Cinnamus.

In middle panel, man resting on spear, 331 Déch,; in space beneath, three-leaf ornament, as on no. **58** above, *Newstead*, p. 224, pl. XLIV, on stamped bowl of Cinnamus. In medallion, Venus, 185 Déch., used by Butrio, Cinnamus, Doeccus, Libertus; ivy leaf on long curved stalk (*Newstead*, p. 225, fig. 3, A.D. 140-180).

In spandrel, lozenge used by Mercator on bowl from mould of Cinnamus (*Wroxeter* I, p. 44, pl. XVI, 18).*

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* See above no. **58**, a bowl with very similar decoration. Both may be attributed with some probability to Cinnamus on the evidence of the types used and the forms of the ovolos.—D.A.

66 (T.H. 1892). Fragment of bowl 37, Lezoux fabric.

Clay, hard rough dull red ; glaze, glossy.

Ovolo ; *ova* large ; knobbed bars attached on r.

Subdivided panel ; beaded upper, vertical and subdividing borders tied with rosettes in the angles ; grooved moulding beneath.

In upper division, $\frac{3}{4}$-medallion suspended from reels, framing dolphin, not in Déch. ; in lower division, wild boar, 828 Déch.

67 (O.M. 515). Fragment of bowl 37, Lezoux fabric.

Clay, hard light red ; glaze, thick darker red.

Ovolo ; *ova* stunted ; straight bars attached on r.

Portion of two-rimmed demi-medallion in upper division of panel ; coarse beaded upper, vertical and dividing borders.

In medallion, Triton brandishing an oar, cf. 16 Déch. In spandrel, small circle.

68 (19-17). Fragment of bowl 37, Lezoux fabric.

Clay, hard red ; glaze, thick dull.

Small portions of a panel and large double medallion ; coarse beaded upper, vertical and subdividing border with knobbed terminals ; lower grooved moulding.

In medallion, Triton brandishing an oar, cf. preceding no. **67**, and 16 or 17 Déch.

In lower division of panel to r., leaf ornament in form of *fleur-de-lis*, see no **48**, preceding.

69 (ϕ 1892-107). Fragment of bowl 37, Lezoux fabric (?) Found on site of White Swan Inn, 1883.

Clay, hard dull red ; glaze, dull red.

Ovolo ; small part of outer rim of one large *ovum*.

Portion of panel bordered above and vertically by thin wavy lines, framing Venus, 179*a* Déch., used by Butrio, Divixtus, Libertus.

70 (O.M. 516). Fragment of bowl 37.

Clay, hard light red ; glaze, thick matt-glossy.

On the upper side a dovetail mortice for a leaden rivet has been cut.

Ovolo ; *ova* well apart, blurred and indistinct.

Portion of a demi-medallion suspended from two round knobs, framing lion, not in Déch., and bunch of grapes (cf. *Fölzer*, pls. XXVIII, type 403 ; XXXI, types 740-1.

PLATE VI.—A. TERRA SIGILLATA, EMBOSSED.

Fragments of Bowls, Form 37. Nos. 71-86.

71 (O.M. 517). Fragment of bowl 37, Lezoux fabric.

Good hard dark red clay and glaze.

In place of ovolo, zone of small two-rimmed circles, the outer rim beaded, as nos. **23** and **34** above; also on no. **35** as lower border.

Portion of a zone of full-height circular vine-branches arranged in form of a scroll-pattern, with leaf and tendrils and bird pecking a bunch of grapes (*Wroxeter* I, p. 38, fig. 12, A.D. 90-110/120; pl. XV, 14, A.D. 80-110; *ibid.* II, p. 30, no. 22, pl. XIII, 15, before A.D. 130; *Cannstatt*, p. 17, pl. V, 6, 9; *Silchester*, p. 71, pl. XXVII, 70; see also nos. **35** and **47** above and **91** below).

72 (B.T. 1A). Fragment of bowl 37, found in Birdoswald Turret.

Clay, hard light red; glaze, thin glossy intact.

Bead-rim and narrow smooth zone.

Ovolo; *ova* well apart, separated by long, knob-ended bars.

Portion of zone of full-height diverse scroll-pattern, zigzag line above and straight fillet below.

In both lobes of scroll, two triangular feathery leaves and three-petal flower on long looped stalks; knobs as scroll-bindings.

For report of discovery see these *Transactions*, N.S. XII, p. 346, pl. XIX, 1.*

73 (O.M. 518). Fragment of bowl 37, Lezoux fabric.

Clay, dull hard red; glaze, poor and dull.

Ovolo; *ova* cut off above, stunted and wide apart; straight bars on right.

Portion of a zone of full-height scroll-pattern between beaded border above and fillet below.

Main stem formed of semicircular curvatures made with compasses by "shifting"; heavy scroll-bindings to cover the joints. Lobes above and below filled with large single sycamore leaves, 1168 Déch. on curved stalks, and spandrels with small circles.

74 (T.H. 1892). Fragment of bowl 37, Lezoux fabric.

Ovolo; *ova* well apart; long straight bars between.

Portion of a zone of full-height scroll pattern; plain fillets as borders.

Curvatures of main stem thick semicircles with heavy scroll-bindings, probably formed with compasses.

Lobes above and below filled with large single sycamore leaves

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* Mr. Newbold (*loc. cit*) says it belongs definitely to Period 1A of the turret; *i.e.* before A.D. 160, as the Museum number B.T.1A implies.—D.A.

on long looped stalks, and spandrels with small circles; cf. no. **73**.

75 (20-17). Fragment of bowl 37, Lezoux fabric.

Clay, hard dull red; glaze, dull thinnish intact.

Ovolo; *ova* large, thick, wide apart without centres; straight bars attached on right.

Upper edge of full-height scroll pattern; beaded upper border.

In upper lobe, large sycamore leaf, 1168 Déch.; birds in spaces, pigeon, 1038 Déch., used by Butrio, Cinnamus, Paulus (*Rottweil* 1907, p. 44, pl. XX, 6, 15); sparrow, 1046 Déch.

Decoration in the style of Cinnamus, A.D. 110-140 * (*Silchester*, pp. 68, 213, pl. XXVI, 51-3; *Rottweil* 1912, p. 50, pl. XXX, 8).

76 (O.M. 519). Fragment of bowl 37.

Clay, hard red; glaze, thick glossy.

Ovolo; *ova* large thick, blurred and indistinct.

Part of zone of full-height scroll-pattern. Main stem thick, semicircular. Upper lobe filled with leaf as on no. **75**, and small animal (not in Déch.).

In lower lobe: animals, mule or ass rearing (not in Déch.).

77 (ϕ 91). Fragment of bowl 37, found in Backhouses Walk, Carlisle, in 1892.

Clay, hard light red; glaze, dull poor.

Ovolo; *ova* roughened by decay; long straight bars.

Portion of zone of very wide full-height scroll-pattern; curvatures semicircular; stem thick; scroll-bindings clumsy. Upper lobes filled with acanthus and vine-leaf (cf. the same type of scroll and vine leaf, *Walters Cat.*, M. 42, fig. 50, bowl 37, with signature BANVI).

In lower lobes, double medallions framing birds (*Silchester*, p. 83, pl. XXIX, 130).

Potter's name written with a blunt point in mould before baking, on smooth lower zone, BANVOS, for whom, see Appendix.

78 (16-04). Fragment of bowl 37.

Clay, hard red; glaze, strong glossy.

Ovolo; *ova* large thick, broken.

Portion of a zone of large coarse scroll-pattern.

In upper lobe, tip of large leaf and part of bird.

In lower lobe, Pan, 419 Déch., used by Albucius, Doeccus; runner, 383 Déch. Scattered rosettes in spaces.

79 (O.M.). Two fragments of bowl 37, Lezoux fabric.

Clay, hard dull red; glaze, poor, worn.

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* Or rather, about A.D. 120-170.—D.A.

Ovolo; *ova* blurred and broken.

Portion of large rude scroll-pattern; thick stem.

In lower lobe, Victory holding a wreath, 484 Déch., used by Albucius, Aventinus, Banuus, Decimanus. Venus, 177 Déch.

Scattered in fields, blurred rosettes.

80 (R.F. 463). Fragment of bowl 37, Lezoux (?) fabric, found at Papcastle, 1874.

Clay, rather soft red; glaze, dull red.

In place of ovolo, returning spiral (Vitruvian scroll). (*Rottenburg*, p. 51, pl. x, 1; *Wroxeter* I, p. 36, pl. xiv, 9).

Portion of full-height zone of free figures and trees; beaded upper and lower borders. Cupid, 247 Déch., used by Lalus. Satyr, 362 Déch. Cupid, 252 Déch., used by Illixo, Paulus. Silenus, 312 Déch. Vine overladen with massive bunches of grapes (*Wroxeter* II, p. 26, pl. xiv, 16, A.D. 80-120). Date, first third of second century.

81 (O.M. 520). Fragment of small bowl 37, Lezoux fabric.

Clay, dull hard dark red; glaze, hard matt.

Ovolo; *ova* small, well apart; tassels L-ended.

Portion of full-height zone of animals free in the field; zigzag line as upper and four grooves as lower border.

Stag on l., cf. 885 Déch., used by Valens.

Stag on r., cf. 874 Déch. and *Silchester*, p. 51, pl. xvii, 27; and lion (not in Déch.).

Rosettes of six dots, small circles, cf. no. **23** above, and leaf-ornament scattered in spaces.

82 (O.M. G.H.H.). Fragment of bowl 37.

Clay, hard dull red; glaze, poor intact.

Small segment from lower margin of a zone of animals free in the field; fillet as lower border. Hind quarters of little lion, 776 Déch., used by Libertus. Hind quarters of animal, cf. dog, 932 Déch., used by Libertus, Paternus, etc., in second century.

83 (O.M. 521). Fragment of bowl 37, Lezoux fabric.

Clay, poor hard light red; glaze, soft, glossy and flaked from recesses.

Ovolo; *ova* well formed, blurred; long knobbed bars attached on l.

Portion of full-height zone of animals free in the field; beaded upper border.

Goat to l., 892 Déch., used by Carantinus, Doeccus, Illixo. Fore part of stag, 867 Déch. Little lion, 776 Déch., used by Libertus. Part of serpent climbing over a rock, 960 *bis* Déch. Broken cluster of squarish dots.

See bowl 37, *Silchester*, p. 66, pl. XXVI, 44; with potter's stamp Doeccus; both very probably by the same potter; for whose date see Appendix.

84 (22-04). Fragment of bowl 37, Lezoux fabric.

Clay, very hard pale red; glaze, matt darker red.

Small portion of zone of animals free in the field; leopard leaping to r., 787 Déch., used by Advocisus; hind quarters of stag, 852 Déch., used by Cinnamus, Doccius, about the middle of the second century.

85 (O.M. 522). Fragment of bowl 37, Lezoux fabric.

Clay, hard dull red; glaze, thin glossy on smooth, roughish on ornamented zones.

Lower part of zone of animals free in the field; groove as lower border. Stag, 852 Déch., used by Cinnamus, Doccius; horse, 908 Déch., used by Cinnamus; dog, 934 Déch., used by Cinnamus, Paternus; in space below stag, pigmy or little warrior as on 834 Déch., used by Borillus, Felix, Cinnamus, Marcus. Single feathery leaf in field.

Probably work of Cinnamus about the middle of the second century.

86 *a-c* (T.H. 217). Three fragments of large bowl 37, Lezoux fabric.

Clay, hard dull red; glaze, good glossy intact.

Ovolo; *ova* well formed, wide apart; long straight bars between.

Portions of zone of figures free in the field; beaded upper and straight lower borders. Hind quarters of lion, 766 Déch.; lion devouring wild boar, 778 Déch., used by Epillus, Libertus; bear, 820 Déch., used in wreath, *Déchelette* I, pl. XI, 3; cuirassed warrior like but larger than 103 Déch., used by Albucius; bear running to l., as 818 *bis* Déch. but larger; small leaves of grass? scattered over field; blurred figure seated, in separate parts on *a* and *c*.

PLATE VII.—A. TERRA SIGILLATA, EMBOSSED.

Fragments of Bowls, Form 37, Nos. 87-89, 91-99; Form 30, No. 90.

B. Terra Sigillata, variously ornamented, Nos. 100-102 *a-b*.

87 (P.B. 7-11-2). Fragment of bowl 37, probably Lezoux fabric, found in Poltross Burn milecastle, 1909-1910.

Clay, soft light red; glaze, thin.

Small part of a zone of animals and ornaments free in the field. Dog, 934 Déch., used by Cinnamus, Paternus; circular branch

with shoots, as *Walters, Cat.* M 1135, fig. 187, forming a scroll-pattern.

See report of discovery of this fragment, Bosanquet, these *Transactions*, N.S. XI, p. 457, pl. VI, 6; he suggests the Antonine period (say, 140-180) as its date.

88 (25-04). Fragment of bowl 37.

Clay, roughish hard light red; glaze, poor glossy, much flaked from recesses.

Ovolo; *ova* with borders wide apart; rosettes as tassels.

Portion of a wide zone of human and animal figures in the field, bordered by a bead-row above and fillet below. Nude gladiator or huntsman with a long barbed spear, attacking a bear? Warrior with a round shield three times appearing in prone and upright position, and animal running to r. (not in Déch.); field sown with small leaves.

89 (4-13). Fragment of bowl 37, East Gaulish (?) in late incoherent style of decoration, found at Birdoswald turret.

Clay and glaze, poor.

Ovolo; *ova* large and blurred or corroded.

Portion of a zone of large scroll-pattern. In upper space; damaged leaf on looped stalk; rosette as scroll-binding, and as filling motive in field. In lower space; detached triangular feathered leaf and portion of corroded leaf-like ornament.

90 (22-04). Side fragment of bowl 30, Rheinzabern fabric (see no. **20** above).

Clay, softish dull red; glaze, dull and rubbed.

Portion of a full-height zone occupied by an incoherent series of human figures, two of larger size separated by potter's stamp and one smaller partly intersected by a vertical bead-row.

Small incomplete nude figure running to l. (not in Déch.) with one leg intersected by bead-row. Gladiator (*thrax*) (*Cannstatt*, p. 42, pl. XXXV, 1, 2, on bowl 37 stamped Regin. f.); warrior fighting, 107 *bis* Déch.

Potter's name outside among ornaments C]OBNERTV[S, for whose date see Appendix.

91 (O.M. 63). Fragment of bowl 37, late and incoherent in style, probably East Gaulish.

Clay, hard dull red; glaze, thin glossy.

Ovolo; *ova* large prominent, slightly apart; cabled knob-ended cords attached on l.

Portion of a zone of large leaves on curved stalks, circular vine-branch, with leaf, tendrils and bird pecking a bunch of grapes, the stalks joined in the form of a scroll-pattern; see also nos.

35, 47, 71 preceding. Large leaf, not in Déch. Another large leaf, not in Déch.

Zone of chevrons as narrow wreath, and a thick fillet or cordon as lower border.

92 (21-17). Fragment of bowl 37, late incoherent style, imitating festoon and tassel, probably East Gaulish.

Clay, very hard red; glaze, thin glossy.

Ovolo; *ova* well formed, wide apart; knobbed or rosette-ended bars between.

Portion of zone of incoherent ornaments; rough impressions of worn punches.

Upper zone; two-rimmed demi-medallions suspended from reels and dentils, framing rosette of seven petals alternating with female mask in profile, 695 Déch. (*Ludowici* II, M 12).

In field, semicircular ornament with moulded terminals and central rosettes of seven dots (*Wroveter* I, p. 37, pl. XVI, 19; A.D. 140-190). Single heart-shaped leaves with serrated edges.

93 (4-02,2). Fragment of bowl 37, late incoherent style of ornaments, probably East Gaulish.

Clay, hard red; glaze, dark slightly crackled.

Portion of base and zone of incoherent ornaments; 'paternoster' as vertical border. Forelegs of animal (wild boar); in space below, tuft of grass. As lower border, narrow wreath of >-shaped leaves (ragged impressions of damaged punch).

Part of potter's stamp (inside) CEF/

94 (22-17). Fragment of bowl 37, fabric of Lavoye (East Gaulish).

Clay, thick hard light red; glaze, poorish glossy.

Ovolo; *ova* squarish, blurred and indistinct.

Portion of a zone of figures free in the field; zigzag line as upper border.

Stag (*Fölzer*, pp. 48, 81, pl. XXX, type 624; *Ludowici* II, T 121); bare-ribbed dog (*Fölzer*, pp. 37, 41, pl. VIII, 2; pl. XXVIII, type 376; pl. XXVII, type 301, Lavoye fabric); forequarters of animal, uncertain. Three-leaved blossom in field (*Fölzer*, pp. 37, 41, pl. XXVIII, type 398, pl. VII, 40, Lavoye fabric).

95 (O.M. 523). Fragment of bowl 37, East Gaulish fabric.

Clay, hard red; glaze, rather thick, slightly crackled.

Ovolo blurred and indistinct.

Portion of narrow zone of animals free in the field; fillet as upper border. Hind quarters of dog to l. (*Fölzer*, pp. 48, 81, pl. XXX, type 651), stag (*ibid.*, type 624, 625; cf. *Ludowici* II, T 121); fore part of dog.

As lower border, narrow wreath of double openwork leaves (laurel ?) (*ibid.*, types 904, 907), frequently used by East Gaulish potters down to a late date.

96 (23-17). Fragment of bowl 37, East Gaulish (Lavoye) fabric, where potteries were active in time of Hadrian, A.D. 117-138.

Clay, hard light red ; glaze, poor darker red.

Ovolo ; *ova* long, well formed, well separated ; straight bars on right.

Portion of one or two zones of incoherent ornaments ; beaded upper and middle borders.

In upper zone, small three-leaved blossom as no. **94** above in a V-shaped inclosure.

In lower zone, central rosette and three concentric demi-medallions, the inner one as no. **92** above ; small parts of two outer beaded semicircles.

97 (O.M. 524). Fragment of bowl 37, East Gaulish, Trier fabric (?) where potteries were at work A.D. 117-250.

Clay, hard light red ; glaze, hard glossy.

Ovolo ; *ova* large thin-rimmed, well apart ; knobbed tassels without cords attached on r.

Portion of a wide zone of incoherent ornaments and human figures framed in imitation of panel style of Lezoux potters ; zigzag lines as upper and vertical borders, the latter ending in large open-work rosettes ; rosettes and small wreaths in field.

In panel to l., three concentric demi-medallions pendant from upper border (cf. *Fölzer* pp. 37, 41, pl. XXVIII, type 447) ; beaded oblique lines below (*ibid.*, pp. 17, 36, pl. VI, 2), used by Satto and Saturn, potters of uncertain East Gaulish locality, who worked about A.D. 110-150.

In middle panel, draped female figure, blurred and of uncertain origin.

In panel to r., part of a blurred figure, gladiator ?

Narrow wreath of trefoil leaves bordered by fillets (*ibid.*, pl. VII, 6).

98 (24-17). Fragment of bowl 37, Trier fabric, A.D. 117-250.

Clay, very hard light red ; glaze, poorish glossy.

Portion of zone of numerous small figures, animals and ornaments symmetrical but incoherently arranged in imitation of the style of arcading of Lezoux potters. Arches formed of two rows of little squares in relief (*Fölzer*, pp. 48, 81, pl. XXXI, type 815) ; columns with capitals and bases formed of double circles, the outer rim beaded (cf. *ibid.*, type 858) ; narrow wreath of open-

work double leaves (laurel ?) (*ibid.*, pp. 48, 81, pl. XXXII, type 904) ; as lower border, a zone of double circles, as above.

Within the arches, Cupid (*ibid.*, pl. XXV, 36 ; cf. 255 Déch.) ; lion, (*ibid.*, pl. XXX, type 593 ; cf. 750 Déch.) ; hind quarters of another small animal of uncertain type.

99 (8-03). Fragment of bowl 30, East Gaulish (Eschweilerhof) fabric.

Ovolo ; *ova* stunted, semicircular and well separated, blurred and indistinct.

Portion of full-height zone of figures and ornaments in degenerate and incoherent imitation of the panel style of Lezoux potters ; coarse bead-rows above and below.

To r. and l., thick demi-medallions framing tortoise, as 1066 Déch. ? bowman bending bow ; Apollo with laurel wreath (*Fölzer*, pl. XXVII, types 287 and 288 ; *ibid.*, pl. VI, 26, showing both types on a bowl with stamp of Cambo, a potter of Eschweilerhof) ; estimated period of activity, A.D. 138-161 (*Silchester*, p. 15).

100 *a-c* and PLATE VIII, **100** *d* (O.M. 525 and 22-04). Rim-fragments of *terra sigillata* bowls, forms 35, 36, 38, ornamented on the top of the rim and flange with leaves on stalks *en barbotine*.

The type 35, 36, first appears between 50-70 A.D. ; by the end of the second century it is rare. The earlier and finer were made at Lezoux. In slightly modified forms they were made at a later date at Heiligenberg and Rheinzabern (*Silchester*, p. 93, types 36, 37, pl. XXXIII ; *Heiligenberg*, p. 97, pl. XIII, no. 7 ; *Aislingen*, p. 75, pl. XVI, fig. 21, last quarter of first century).

100 *d*. Restored drawing of bowl 35, ornamented on the top of the rim with leaves on stalks *en barbotine*.

Height, 2 ins. ; original diam. of rim about $5\frac{1}{4}$ ins.

(Drawing restored from base-fragment of another bowl marked O.M.).

100 *e* (15-04). Sectional drawing of *Terra Sigillata* beaker, form 68 nearly* ; body spherical, decorated round the middle with leaves on stalks *en barbotine*. The leaves resemble those on the top of the rims of Lezoux bowls, forms 35, 36, in use during the second half of the first century ; *Déch.* II, p. 311. Vessels decorated by the same process in similar clay and glaze were made more abundantly at Rheinzabern during the second and early third centuries, when the leaves were larger, more heart-shaped, and elongated at the tip into a long spiked projection, combined with birds, animals, etc. This more conventional or

* Found in Carlisle in 1904.

barbarous decoration is illustrated by British Museum specimens (*Walters, Cat.*, M 132, 133, fig. 78; *Ludowici, Urnen Gräber*, III, p. 273, type VMK; *Silchester*, p. 96, pl. XXXVI, nos. 1-16). Later examples of this decoration on a beaker with stemmed foot or pedestal, approximating to form 54 Drag., descend into the fourth century (*York.*, p. 20, pl. VIII, 4; *Guildhall Mus. Cat.*, p. 102, no. 594, pl. XLIV, 6; Koenen, *Gefässkunde*, p. 111, pl. XLVIII, 15, Constantine period, A.D. 306-361).

The nearest parallel to the one now illustrated that has been traced is a beaker illustrated by Scarth, *On the Roman Remains at Bath*, p. 93, pl. XXXVIII, which, however, furnishes no evidence as to date. The shape of the leaves and the proportions of the vase itself point to the late first or early second century as the probable date of its appearance.*

100 *f* (47A-05). Restored sectional drawing of large fragment of flanged *terra sigillata* bowl, form 38 nearly; flange half an inch below the upright plain rim, decorated on the upper surface with leaves on stalks *en barbotine*.

This form of leaf ornament appears on bowls 35, 36, between A.D. 50-70; the type of vessel in smooth *sigillata*, with horizontal flange directly below the lip, in the time of Claudius, A.D. 41-54 (*Hofheim*, 1912, pl. XXXI, type 12; *Wroxeter* II, p. 43, type 82). Flanged bowls of this early type with leaf decoration on the top of the flange are recorded at *Silchester*, p. 93, pl. XXXIII, type 38; *Newstead*, p. 198, pl. XXXIX, 11, Flavian period.

As early as the reign of Hadrian the flange has become wider and more downbent, and is lower down the side, as in the Carlisle piece (cf. *Gellygaer*, pl. XII, 9; *York*, p. 20, pl. IX, 10). This form, shape 38, continues until the end of the *sigillata* industry (*Newstead*, p. 200, pl. XL, 18, A.D. 140-180; *Niederbieber*, type 20, A.D. 190-260). Later, the same form in fine red clay with painted decoration on the top of the flange is recorded in the late fourth-century forts at Pevensey and Huntcliff (*Silchester*, pl. LIV, type 94). A kiln where such ware was made has been found at Sandford, Oxon.

101 *a-b* (O.M. 530, 19-09). Two fragments of ovoid (nearly spherical) beakers with recurved rim and moulded foot-ring, form 68 or 72 Déch. (*Ludowici* III, p. 275, type VS*d*, or VS*e*). A zone of ornamentation round the side, bordered above and below by grooves, consists of long oval and lozenge-shaped cavities close together, the ridges between forming a network covering the whole width of the decorated zone.

* The dating of these beakers by their proportions only is hazardous.—D.A.

This "incised" decoration imitates wheel-cutting on glass as practised on the continent in the same period, the cavities and lines being scooped out of the surface of the soft clay with a sharp tool before glazing. It made its first appearance between A.D. 160-180. The period of its widest distribution was A.D. 190-260, many examples being recorded at Niederbieber. On *sigillata* it survived into the fourth century. The finest examples are from Lezoux, but those produced in Trier, Rheinzabern and Westerndorff are more numerous.

The shapes on which incised ornamentation is oftenest employed are those above referred to, but it appears on upright-sided *mortaria* (*deversoria*), form 45 (*Déch.* II, p. 313, pl. VI) and in a late and degenerate style on fragments of various shapes found in London (Roach Smith, *Illustrations of Roman London*, p. 93). The shapes employed at Rheinzabern are hemispherical bowls (*Ludowici*, III, **S**S *a-e*); tall upright-sided beakers on a pedestal foot (VS*c*); one-handled flagons (KS). A great variety of patterns and even animals are represented by means of such incisions (*Silchester*, p. 97, pl. XXXVII, 1-5; *York*, p. 17, pl. VIII, 1-2).

102 *a-b* (O.M. 531, 47A-05-1) two fragments of small bowls 37, roulette-notched, and plate VIII, **102** *c*, sectional drawing of 47 A-05-1.

Clay, soft light red; glaze, poor dull darker red, flaked off in part.

Rim strongly beaded, foot-ring obliquely outset.

Round the side a zone of roulette-hatching bordered by grooves (*Heiligenberg*, pl. XIII, 9; XIV, 1-11. *Ludowici* III, p. 279, S*e*. *Silchester*, p. 84, pl. XXIXB). This kind of ornamentation was a speciality of the Heiligenberg potters who worked between A.D. 85-160. The notches were made mechanically with a little toothed roller or roulette pressed against the soft clay as it revolved on the wheel after "throwing." This mode of decoration is still practised and is known in the trade as "runnering." It made its first appearance in Roman Britain on the Arretine *sigillata* cups and plates of the Augustan period, B.C. 30-A.D. 14, and continued in use, chiefly on bowls 29, 37 and cups 49 Drag., down to the latest Roman period.

PLATE VIII.—C. TERRA SIGILLATA, SMOOTH.

Types 100 *d-e*—109.

103 (8-03). Side fragment of bowl, form 81 Walters (*Cat.*, p. XXV).

Clay and glaze, fine hard. Diam. about $4\frac{3}{4}$ ins.

The first half of the second century is indicated as the date of this type of bowl by the names of the potters stamped on the outside recorded in other localities. *Colchester Mus. Report*(1909), pl. VII, no. 1735, gives [MVXT]VLLVS? and another not published is stamped DIVICATVS. Divicatus is referred to the second century by Curle (*Newstead*, pp. 228, 235), and an unstamped example of this shape recorded (p. 200, pls. XL, 20, and XLI, 1, is referred to the Antonine period, A.D. 140-180. Wilderspool (*Warrington's Roman Remains*, p. 62) gives SILVINVS FE; (see *Silvinus* in Appendix). *Silchester*, p. 90, pl. XXXI, type 24, and p. 263 SVRDI.M; *York*, p. 14, pl. V, no. 3, GNATIVS. Cf. also *Ludowici* III, pp. 279-280, types S*k*, S*m*.

104 (8-03-2). Fragment of plate, form 18 Drag. nearly and 79 Walters nearly.

Fine hard clay and glaze. Diam. about 7 ins., height $1\frac{1}{8}$ in.

It may be a development of the plate occurring singly at *Aislingen*, p. 71, pl. XV, fig. 18, *Hofheim*, pl. XXXI, type 1, and attributed to the time of Claudius or Nero, A.D. 41-68. Cf. *Silchester*, p. 90, pl. XXXII, type 28.

105 (O.M. 64). Side of dish, form T*x* *Ludowici*, III, p. 277.

Height, $2\frac{1}{16}$ ins.; diams., rim $5\frac{7}{8}$; base $2\frac{13}{16}$ ins.

A cup of similar form occurs at *Silchester*, p. 89, pl. XXXI, type 22, with stamp. ADVOCISI O (*ibid.*, p. 200); for Advocisus see Appendix. Pudding Pan Rock, *Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, 2 ser. XXII, p. 407, stamped CATIANVS (see Appendix). Cf. *York*, p. 15, pl. VI, 15, with stamp of Clemens.

106 (36-14, 48). Cup or small dish, form 80 Walters.

Clay, hard dull red; glaze, dull, soft, worn from prominences.

Height, $1\frac{3}{4}$ ins.; diams., rim $4\frac{1}{16}$, base 2 ins.

One of the forms obtained from the Pudding Pan Rock, *Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, 2 ser., XXI (1907), p. 279, fig., type 3, there attributed to A.D. 160-190; *Walters*, *Cat.*, M. 2226-2228.

107 (to illustrate a rare form at Rough Castle and *Corbridge*, 1911, p. 46, fig. 9, 115, *Arch. Ael.* 3 ser., vol. VIII). Fragment of bowl, form 31 nearly, thick sided; with a quarter-round moulding on the inside, at the joining of the slightly curved side and domed base, a corresponding groove or cavity outside, over against the internal moulding; and a deep narrow groove on the inside just below the lip. This is distinct from the much later form 31 with more rounded side and no moulding inside.

Height, $2\frac{3}{8}$ ins.; diam. of rim about 7 ins.; base $3\frac{5}{8}$ ins.

Potter's stamp inside DOI[I]CCV[S]; for date see Appendix.

108 (8-03-10). Side-fragment of bowl, form 34 Drag. nearly, with two handles.

Fine hard clay and glaze.

Height about $2\frac{5}{8}$ ins. ; diam., rim $4\frac{15}{16}$ ins.

Newstead, p. 199, pl. XL, 17, A.D. 140-180.

The form is probably derived from the Greek *kotylê* (Walters, *Hist. of Ancient Pottery*, pl. X ; *Haltern* V, fig. 5, type 14, 3, dated about B.C. 11—A.D. 9) and before reaching Britain had become greatly modified in shape. Cf. *Walters*, pls. II, III, K 3, 33, 36, form 14.

109 (O.M. 484). Side-fragment of *terra sigillata* bowl, form 38/44 Drag.

Height, about $3\frac{3}{16}$ ins. ; diams., rim $7\frac{1}{4}$, flange $7\frac{7}{8}$, base $3\frac{3}{16}$ ins.

Potter's name on inside CALAVA·F. Fragments of two others with potter's stamps Burdo and Advocisi O. For the dates of these potters, see Appendix. The history of this form is given under **100** *f*. above.

PLATE IX—D. BLACK SLIP-GLAZED.
E. COLOURED CLAY-SLIP COATED.

Nos. 110-124.

110 (25-17) found at Castlesteads. Large folded beaker, partly restored from fragments ; neck rising from a strongly carinated shoulder nearly upright and slightly recurved ; foot small and obliquely outset ; base turned hollow.

Round the body, seven large oval indentations, and on the intermediate ridges and shoulder, scales in moulded and applied relief.

Height, $6\frac{7}{8}$ ins. ; diams., lip 4 ins., bulge $5\frac{3}{8}$ ins., base 2 ins.

Clay, brownish white, coated dark-brown mottled with red near the base.

111 (10-04B). Narrow-waisted beaker ; neck nearly upright, slightly recurved, and separated from the body by a slight groove ; round the middle constriction a raised belt or cordon ; the under part slightly incaved to a flat base.

Clay white, coated with dark chocolate brown clay slip.

Height, $3\frac{7}{8}$ ins. ; diams., rim $2\frac{5}{8}$, bulge $3\frac{1}{16}$, base $1\frac{1}{4}$ ins.

112 (T.H. 66). Upright-sided bag-shaped beaker with small thin-edged projecting lip separated by a groove, and beaded foot.

Clay, buff coloured, coated with red clay slip.

Height, $3\frac{5}{8}$ ins. ; diams., rim $3\frac{1}{16}$, bulge $3\frac{5}{8}$, base $1\frac{7}{16}$ ins. ; proportions 84 : 100 : 40 : indicating the first century as the date

of its appearance (Table I of Standard Proportions, *Silchester*, p. 290).

113 (R.F. 93-95) found near Haltwhistle. Bag-shaped beaker with small thin-edged flat-topped projecting lip and plain raised foot.

Clay, buff coloured, coated with red clay slip.

Height, $3\frac{1}{2}$ ins.; diams., rim $2\frac{3}{4}$, bulge $3\frac{3}{8}$, base $1\frac{1}{4}$ ins.; proportions, 77 : 96 : 36, indicating the first half of the second century as the date of its appearance.

114 (O.M. 158-94) found on site of Grammar School, Carlisle. Bag-shaped, nearly ovoid beaker, with small outbent thin-edged lip, and raised foot separated by a groove.

Clay, cream-coloured, coated with dark brown clay slip.

Height, $2\frac{13}{16}$ ins; diams., rim $2\frac{3}{16}$, bulge $2\frac{1}{2}$, base 1 in.; proportions, 77 : 88 : 35, indicating a date somewhat later than the preceding.

115 (ϕ 59-1892) found in Bank Street, Carlisle. Fragment of a bag-shaped beaker, form 55 Drag., with thin-edged rim, plain raised foot and two girth-grooves above the middle of the side.

Clay, white, coated with deep olive-brown slip showing red in patches on inside and outside base.

Height, $3\frac{5}{8}$ ins.; diams., rim $2\frac{3}{8}$, bulge 3, base $1\frac{5}{16}$ ins.; proportions, 65 : 82 : 36, indicating the middle of the second century as the probable date of its appearance (*Silchester*, p. 106, pl. XLII B, no. 8; p. 290, Table I, p. 115, pl. XLVIII, type 58; pp. 107-110, pls. XLIV-XLV; *York*, p. 44, pl. XI, 6; XII*b*, 2; *Newstead*, p. 254, pl. XLVIII, 45).

The characteristic feature of this type of vessel is the straight side expanding gradually downwards and curving suddenly inwards to a small cut-off base. The widest part is always below the middle and on the above example is two-thirds down from the top. The Castor (*Durobrivae*) potters employed it for their "hunt-cups," the wide smooth surface with a slight batter being adapted for receiving a zone of decoration *en barbotine*.

116 (O.M. 137, 92) found in Hartington Place, Carlisle. Bag-shaped, upright-sided beaker, with plain thin-edged lip, form 55 Drag., ornamented with four girth-grooves at regular intervals round the side.

Clay, tile-red; coated with black slip.

Height, $4\frac{3}{8}$ ins.; diams., rim $2\frac{3}{16}$, bulge 3, base $1\frac{3}{8}$ ins.; proportions, 49 : 68 : 31, assignable to about the beginning of the fourth century.

117 (R.F. 97, 136) found with urn and *unguentarium* near the Roman Wall. Pear-shaped beaker with oblique thin-edged rim, and under part contracting to a small base, slightly hollow beneath.

Clay, pale grey coated with light reddish buff slip.

Height, $3\frac{1}{4}$ ins. ; diams., rim $2\frac{11}{16}$, bulge $3\frac{7}{16}$, base $1\frac{3}{8}$ ins. ; proportions, 82 : 105 : 36, approximating to those of about 100 A.D. (*Silchester*, pl. LXX, type 158, Table iv, p. 293).

118 (R.F. 96, 134) found at Carlisle. Bulbous beaker with conical neck separated from the body by a bevelled offset, and contracting quickly below to a small, slightly hollowed stump-ended foot separated by a narrow groove.

Clay, pale brown, with greenish brown slip coating.

Height, $3\frac{7}{16}$ ins. ; diams., rim $2\frac{1}{8}$, bulge $3\frac{1}{2}$, base $1\frac{1}{4}$ ins. ; proportions, 61 : 101 : 36.

It probably forms the immediate predecessor of the next following type no. **119** (*Niederbieber*, type 57, A.D. 190-260).

119 (R.F. 90, 128) found inside a cinerary urn in Carlisle. Bulbous beaker with six circular indentations round the bulge ; conical neck separated by a ledge ; suddenly contracted lower part ending in a small beaded foot.

Clay, pale brown, with reddish brown mottled slip coating.

Height, $3\frac{3}{8}$ ins. ; diams., rim $1\frac{5}{8}$, bulge 3, base $\frac{15}{16}$ in. ; proportions, 47 : 87 : 25, assignable to first half of third century by Table III, *Silchester*, p. 292.

The type appears about the time of Severus, A.D. 190-210 (*Niederbieber*, type 33c, A.D. 190-260).

119*a* (103) found in Carlisle. Fragments of Rhenish ware (not illustrated).

Base-fragment of small bulbous beaker, of reddish brown paste ornamented round the body with roulette notching and coated with glossy dark brown glaze, inside with chocolate brown colour-coating.

119*b* (104-9-02) found at Bewcastle, Cumberland, 1902. Base-fragment of Rhenish ware bulbous beaker (not illustrated) ; reddish brown paste coated with dark greenish brown glossy glaze, and ornamented with rows of roulette notching. Internally coloured chocolate brown (dull).

120 (26-17). Tall bulbous beaker with long conical neck tapering slightly upwards to a small oblique rim, and separated from the body by an angle and slight groove ; high stump-ended foot separated by a concavity.

Clay, fine light brown, coated with brown-red clay slip.

Height, $4\frac{3}{8}$ ins. ; diams., rim $1\frac{3}{4}$, bulge $2\frac{3}{4}$, base $1\frac{1}{8}$ ins. ; proportions, 40 : 62 : 24.

This long-lived, widely distributed type was commonly made at Castor (*Durobrivae*), New Forest and Sandford (Oxon.) potteries. It becomes more and more elongated in the course of development. The above proportions correspond to a date of about 300 A.D. (*Silchester*, p. 123, pl. LII, type 86, Table III). Another of similar shape and proportions found at Allington, near Maidstone, contained a hoard of coins of Tetricus, A.D. 270-273.

121 (R.F. 83). Oil-flask (*unguentarium*) with slightly ovoid bulge tapering upwards to a cylindrical neck with moulded rim and downwards to a pedestal support with expanded foot.

Clay, smooth light brown, painted on the top of the neck with two bands of darker brown slip.

Height, $6\frac{1}{2}$ ins. ; diam. of bulge $1\frac{13}{16}$ ins.

This is an early type of Hellenistic origin imported into the north and west of Europe from the Mediterranean region along with the legions. Loeschcke (*Haltern* V, p. 201, pl. XI) describes this long form, type 30, and short form (without neck) type 31. It occurs in the early period of Tiberius, A.D. 14-37, at Cologne (*Bonn. Jahrb.*, 114/5, p. 380, pl. XXI, grave 2*c*) ; and at Querberg (*Beitr. zu Anthrop. u. Urgesch. Bayerns*, XVI, 1907, p. 82, 4f ; *Alter. u. h. Vorzeit*, V, part VIII, p. 248, pl. 45, no. 766 ; Behn, *Röm. Keramik*, nos. 424, 530-1, 1261). They disappear in favour of glass vessels after the second third of the first century.

Unguent pots are the commonest grave-furniture in the cremation-graves of the first three centuries A.D. The varieties are too numerous to be described. The following are the principal types in use during the Roman period :—

a.—Tall tubular colour-coated flask of Hellenic origin as **121**.

b.—Tubular or pipe-shaped flasks (mostly in glass, "lachrymatories") as **171, 181**.

c.—Disc-topped, pear-shaped, stump-ended pots, often spirally grooved round the body, type 61 Loeschcke.

d.—Bag-shaped, upright-sided, neckless beakers, form 55 Drag as **115, 116**.

e.—Bulbous, round-bodied beaker, with long cylindrical neck and high foot as **120**.

122 (φ 85- 1892, 104). Unguent pot or small beaker with funnel-shaped opening, ovoid body and weakly moulded foot separated by a slight hollow, the inside showing prominent ribs of careless throwing.

Clay, cement-coloured ; surface coated with grey clay slip.

Height, $5\frac{5}{16}$ ins. ; diams., rim $1\frac{3}{4}$, body $3\frac{1}{16}$, base $1\frac{5}{8}$ ins.

A vessel of closely similar shape but of larger size, superior technique and light red clay, found on the site of Leadenhall Market, London, is illustrated in *Archaeologia*, vol. 66, p. 253, fig. 16, no. 56, with a handle restored from a complete example in Guildhall Museum, and attributed to the second century. The present example of inferior technique, without handle, is probably of later date.

123 (R.F. 126, 84) found in Carlisle. Tall calyx-shaped unguent pot with slightly everted rim, thin-edged lip and high foot separated by wide shallow concavity.

Clay, dark grey to black, coated with light grey slip.

Height, $3\frac{3}{4}$ ins. ; diams., rim $1\frac{1}{2}$, body $1\frac{15}{16}$, base $1\frac{1}{8}$ ins.

An early example of similar type (*Haltern* V, p. 245, pl. XII, type 61) is described by Loeschcke as a form found in nearly every Roman settlement, and that remained for centuries pretty much the same. See also Colchester Mus., Joslin Coll., grave 43, no. 249, with coins of Claudius and Nero, A.D. 41-68.

124 (27-17). Rim-fragment of *mortarium*, form 45, usually provided with a lion or bat-face spout or rude imitation thereof.

Clay, very hard bright red ; coated on outside to top edge of rim with darker brown-red clay slip.

Original diam. of rim about 7 ins.

Silchester, p. 126, pl. LIV, type 95, third to fourth century. The form is a survival of the *mortarium* with upright rim found on Augustan military sites in Germany (*Haltern* V, p. 242, pl. XII, type 59). In the second half of the second and first half of the third century it was commonly made in *sigillata* (shape 45, decorated with lions' or bats' masks). Imitations of this *sigillata* bowl in inferior clay and technique continue until the latest period of the Roman occupation (*Silchester*, pl. LIV, type 95 ; *Wroxeter* I, p. 80, types 226, 242 ; latter part of third and fourth century).

(2) PLAIN OR UNCOLOURED TYPES.

PLATE X.—(a) WHITE CLAY WARES. Nos. 126-137.

Lagenae (two-handled), nos. 125-127.
Flagons (one-handled), nos. 128-134.
Beakers, incense-bowl, etc., nos. 135-137.

125, PLATE XIV (37 R.F. 158). Large two-handled *lagena* with frilled collar below the rim ; upright neck, inverted pear-shaped body ; foot separated above and below base by a groove ; under base slightly incaved.

Clay, dull white to drab, darker below middle.

Height, $15\frac{1}{2}$ ins.; diams., rim 6, bulge $11\frac{3}{4}$, base $4\frac{9}{16}$ ins.; proportions, 23 : 76 : 29, corresponding to those in Table of Standard Proportions dated about A.D. 100-150 (*Silchester*, p. 296, Table VI).

Vessels ornamented with frills are of various dates:—*Haltern* V, p. 249, fig. 35, 2, *olla*; *Hofheim* 1912, p. 289, fig. 67, *lagena* of fine and early character, A.D. 40-51; ORL. XIII, no. 25 *Heldenbergen*, pl. III, 33, three-handled *lagena* with frill below lip as above, from the kilns, A.D. 117-138; *York*, p. 84, pl. XXI*a*, 7, *urceus* or *olla* with frills on neck and shoulder.

126 (R.F. 144, 38) found in Portland Place, Carlisle. Stunted two-handled *lagena;* mouthpiece funnel-shaped, grooved on the outer margin and separated by a grooved projection from an upright neck; body nearly cylindrical, level on top, coned beneath, on a plain raised foot separated by a groove on the under side which is turned hollow.

Clay, smooth hard pale reddish buff.

Height, $7\frac{5}{8}$, neck 3 ins.; diams., bulge $6\frac{3}{4}$, base $3\frac{1}{8}$ ins.

The type is rare both in Britain and on the continent. An example in Trier Provincial Museum with straighter sides and angular margins is dated by Dr. Krüger 50-100 A.D. A more upright example in the same museum illustrated on p. 101 of *Führer*, was found with a coin of Domitian, A.D. 81-96. See also *Sammlung Niessen*, p. 131, pl. XCVI, no. 2768, in Mayence dated by Loeschcke second to fourth century.

From the shape of mouthpiece and body this type is recognisable as copied from the St. Remy white clay yellow-glazed flagons, form 60 Déch., but having a cylindrical square-shouldered body of greater length in proportion (*Dechelette* I, pp. 54-58, figs. 54-6, 58, dated about the middle of the first century).

127 (R.F. 142, 39) found at Haltwhistle Burn. Small two-handled *lagena;* body ovoid with narrow neck ending in a thin outbent lip; handles bent in a semicircle; oblique foot, under base turned hollow; below the middle two turns of a narrow spiral girth-groove.

Clay, fine hard pale drab to white.

Height, $5\frac{1}{4}$ ins.; diams., rim $1\frac{3}{8}$, bulge $3\frac{3}{4}$, base $1\frac{1}{2}$ ins.; proportions, 22 : 71 : 28.

Typical late Roman form recorded at *Niederbieber*, p. 60, type 67*b*, A.D. 190-260; *York*, p. 65, pl. XVII, 5, proportions, 20 : 61 : 28. The form survived from the end of the second to the fifth century.

128 (O.M. 526). Neck and part of shoulder of large one-handled flagon, mouthpiece widely outbent, strongly moulded and undercut (or downbent) on rim; curve of neck hyperboloid; four-ribbed handle.

White pipe-clay.

This is one of the earliest pottery specimens and properly characterises the period before the middle of the first century. Cf. *Haltern* V, type 45, B.C. 11—A.D. 9. Cf. *Hofheim* 1912, p. 279, fig. 62, 1, for similar jug-neck.

129 (O.M. 22). One-handled flagon; mouthpiece funnel-shaped and six times understepped; handle three-ribbed angularly bent, descending vertically to body, the width of the latter being greater than its height; beaded foot-ring.

White pipe-clay.

Height, $10\frac{1}{2}$, neck $3\frac{1}{2}$ ins.; diams., body $7\frac{5}{8}$, base $3\frac{3}{8}$ ins; proportions, 32 : 72 : 32. Drawing reduced to $\frac{1}{2}$ linear scale of other figures in pl. x.

The details of shape and proportions are those of flagons appearing not later than the second half of the first century (*Hofheim* 1912, p. 281, type 52, fig. 64, 10, A.D. 40-51; *Wroxeter* I, p. 69, fig. 17, 1, site 4, A.D. 80-110; *York*, p. 73, pl. XVII, 7; *Silchester*, p. 146, pl. LXII, types 117, 118, end of first century).

130 (R.F. 145, 1892). One-handled flagon (handle broken); mouthpiece funnel-shaped and four times under-stepped; foot-ring beaded; under-base grooved and hollowed.

Clay, hard light reddish brown, smoothed.

Height, $6\frac{7}{8}$, neck 2.18 ins., diams., bulge $4\frac{3}{4}$, base $2\frac{1}{8}$ ins.; proportions, 31 : 69 : 31.

The proportions indicate a date of about the beginning of the second century (*Silchester*, p. 296, Table VI; *Newstead*, pl. XLVI, type 33, Flavian, A.D. 80-100).

131 *a*, *b* (66-175). Two one-handled flagons; mouthpiece cup-shaped and three times understepped; handle two-ribbed.

Clay, cloudy cream to white.

a.—Base flat and foot obliquely outset.

Height, $7\frac{1}{8}$, neck $1\frac{7}{8}$ ins.; diams., bulge $5\frac{1}{16}$, base $1\frac{7}{8}$ ins.; proportions, 26 : 71 : 25.

b.—Base slightly hollow, foot obliquely outset.

Height, $7\frac{1}{8}$, neck $1\frac{3}{4}$ ins.; diams., bulge $5\frac{1}{16}$, base $1\frac{3}{4}$ ins.; proportions, 24 : 70 : 24.

The shape and dimensions of both are closely alike and correspond to those of about the middle of the second century (*Silchester*, p. 296, Table VI; *Wroxeter* I, p. 69, fig. 17, 4, A.D. 80-120).

132 (R.F. 154, 1892, 60) found in gaol, Carlisle. Oval-bodied one-handled flagon (part of handle broken off) on a beaded foot separated above and beneath by grooves; mouthpiece ring-shaped, widely offset and grooved on the outer margin; handle round bent and attached about $\frac{1}{4}$ in. below rim.

Clay, hard brownish red, with traces of a white clay-slip coating.

Height, $10\frac{3}{4}$, neck $2\frac{3}{4}$ ins.; diams., bulge $7\frac{1}{4}$, base $3\frac{5}{8}$ ins.; proportions, 25 : 67 : 31.

These proportions and the shape of mouthpiece correspond with those of some of the flagons found at *Newstead*, p. 261, pl. XLVI, type 33, fig. 6, no. 14; pl. XLIX(A)2, (B)2, attributed to the Flavian period of the camp, *c.* A.D. 80-100. Ritterling (*Hofheim* 1912, p. 280, pl. XXXIV, type 50B) says the type survived to about the end of the first century. The handle of the early type is bent at a right angle and descends vertically to the shoulder.

133 (26-14-33). Small one-handled pear-shaped flagon with cup-shaped mouthpiece separated from the body by a slight cordon, beaded foot separated by a groove, and slightly caved-in under base.

White pipe-clay, well smoothed on surface.

Height, $4\frac{1}{2}$ ins.; diams., rim $1\frac{7}{8}$, bulge $2\frac{11}{16}$, base $1\frac{13}{16}$ ins.; proportions, 41 : 59 : 40.

The shape appears at an early date among white clay wares in Andernach graves (A D 14-37, Koenen, *Gefässkunde*, p. 82, pl. XI, 27) but of much wider proportions. The present example is probably assignable to the second half of the first century.

134 (R.F. 137, 67) found at Haltwhistle Burn. Small one-handled flagon with bead-lip slightly downbent at right angles to the handle to form a spout; handle two-ribbed with one wide groove; flat strongly beaded foot.

Clay, hard pale buff to dirty white.

Height, $4\frac{3}{4}$ ins.; diams., bulge $3\frac{1}{16}$, base $1\frac{5}{8}$-$1\frac{1}{2}$ ins.; proportions, 33 : 81 : 29-34.

The beaded foot is an unusual feature on this type of vessel. Disregarding this abnormal excrescence the proportions become 34 : 81 : 24, indicating the second half of the third century as its probable date (*Silchester*, p. 298, Table VI; *Bonn. Jahrb.* 114/115 *Cologne Graves*, pls. XXIV-XXVI, 48 *b-d*; *Mainzer Zeitschrift* 1913-4, p. 55, fig. 7, 2-11; *Alter. u. h. Vorzeit*, V, pl. XXIV, no. 387; *Niederbieber*, p. 59, type 64, a form which lasted into the late third and fourth centuries).

135 (R.F. 124, 1892, 99). Small one-handled pot with inbent opening and outbent "heart-shaped" rim; small stump-ended foot separated by a concavity from the holder.

Clay, hard sandy drab to dirty white.

Height, $2\frac{3}{4}$ ins.; diams., rim $2\frac{5}{16}$, bulge $2\frac{15}{16}$, base $1\frac{1}{8}$ ins.

Similar pots of rather larger size are met with in skeleton graves of the fourth century at Cologne (*Bonn. Jahrb.* 114/5, pp. 425, 428, pls. XXV, XXVII, graves 61*b*, 64*a*; *Niederbieber*, p. 74, fig. 54, nos. 7, 8, type 94, A.D. 190-260). The type * survives to the middle or end of the fourth century, as shown by its presence in the Barbarathermen at Trier (*Niederbieber*, p. 74).

136 (T.H. 1892). "Incense bowl,"—wide-mouthed carinated cup on a hollow pedestal foot, ornamented just below the lip and on the angle of the side with frilled cordons.

Clay, hard coarse red, coated with reddish white clay slip.

Height, $3\frac{1}{4}$ ins.; diam. of lip $5\frac{9}{16}$ ins.; base imperfect.

On the continent this widely distributed type of vessel continued in use, with slight variations of form, from the earliest Roman period (*Haltern* V, p. 213, fig. 19, type 37) down to the end of the second century (*Hedd. Mitteil.* IV, p. 140, pl. XXI, 15, 17, A.D. 133-200) and probably later.

In the British and Colchester museums there are numerous examples (Walters, *Cat.*, pl. LIII, M 2750-2756). One of our earliest dated is *Newstead*, p. 252, A.D. *c.* 80-100.

A close parallel in shape is one found at Trier, with a coin of Domitian, A.D. 81-96.

Their purpose is in dispute. They were at first considered, as their name implies, to be for burning incense at the funeral pyre during cremation. The latest suggestion is that they were a sort of "padella" or lamp to burn in the open air, since they have been sometimes found with a nozzle for a wick and a socket for a candle, and in sets of four in one grave (*York*, p. 47, pl. XIII*c*, 6, 7; *Silchester*, p. 171, pl. LXXI, type 165).

137 (26-17*a*) purchased in Carlisle. Small globular thick-sided *olla*-shaped pot, with recurved rim and wide stump-ended foot.

Clay, hard heavy dirty white.

Height, $3\frac{3}{4}$ ins.; diams., rim $2\frac{1}{2}$, bulge $3\frac{3}{4}$, base $1\frac{3}{4}$ ins.

The bold proportions, shape of rim and bulge, and heavy material are usually found in association on coarse ware of the end of the first or beginning of the second century.

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* Common in graves at Pallien and Ehrang, both close to Trier, in graves 300-400 A.D., some after 350 (information from Ritterling, Oelmann, etc., at Trier, 1913).—D.A.

PLATE XI. (a) WHITE CLAY WARE, CONTINUED.

Nos. 138-151. Mortaria (for stamps see Plate XVII).

138 (8-03-11) from west side of English Street, Carlisle, 1903. Side-fragment of *mortarium*, type 2a *Silchester*, p. 150; *Wroxeter* I, p. 76, types 14-18, before 100 A.D.

Clay, dirty grey.

Height, 4 ins.; original diam. about 15 ins.

The pitch of the wide level flat curved rim and bead on the inner margin characterise examples found at Hofheim (*Nassauer Annal.* 1904, pl. VII, no. 33) attributed to about the middle of the first century.

139 (T.H. 1892) found at Tullie House, 1892. Rim-fragment of *mortarium*, type 2a, *Silchester*, p. 150.

Clay, hard dirty drab.

Potter's stamp across the rim SVMACI (see Appendix, Stamps on *Mortaria*, no. 9) found also on a vessel of similar type at Colchester, no. 122. (Cf. *Newstead*, p. 263, pl. XLV, type 24, and pl. XLIX(A), fig. 6.

140 (O.M. 186). Rim-fragment of *mortarium*, type 2*b* (*Silchester*, p. 151).

Clay, dirty white. Orig. diam. about 12 ins.

Potter's stamp across the lip of spout SVLI; see Appendix, Stamps on *Mortaria*, no 8. (*Wroxeter* I, p. 77, types 42-66, Hadrianic, about A.D. 120-140. *Guildhall Mus. Cat.*, p. 103, no. 633, FELICI SVLIM).

141 and **142** (ϕ1892, 95 and 96) from Bank Street, Carlisle, 1892. Two fragments of *mortarium*, type 2b (*Silchester*). Black particles (iron scoriae ?) inside.

Clay, hard red with bluish core, coated with dirty drab slip.

Height, $3\frac{9}{16}$; orig. diam. about $10\frac{1}{4}$ ins.

Potter's stamp across the rim AINNSF. See Appendix, Stamps on *Mortaria*, no. 1 (C.I.L. XIII, 10006, 5, ANNVSF, Beaune; cf. *Mainzer Zeitschrift*, 1913-4, p. 73f, fig. 10, no. 2; Arretine potter, C.I.L. XIII, 10009, 24, AINIMS).

143 ($\frac{93}{18}$, 120) found at Gallows Hill, Carlisle, 1893. Large portion of *mortarium* (spout wanting) type 2*b* *Silchester* (as before).

Clay, very hard dark grey to black, coated inside with crushed quartz and iron scoriae.

Height, $2\frac{1}{2}$ ins.; diam. of rim, $8\frac{1}{2}$ ins.

(*Wroxeter* I, type 58, A.D. 80-150. *Poltross Burn*, pl. IV, types 1-10, A.D. 120-270).

144 (O.M. 449). Rim-fragment of *mortarium*.

Clay, smooth coarse hard light red; studded inside with white quartz particles; type 2*b* *Silchester* (as before).

Orig. diam. about 13 ins.

Potter's name across the rim in double stamp SIMILISFE SS reversed. See Appendix, Stamps on *mortaria*, no. 7 (*Wroxeter* I, p. 67, fig. 16, nos. 12, 13 SIMILISFE (SS reversed) on rim, type 46, beginning of second century).*

145 (T.H. 1892, 72) found at Tullie House, 1892. Side-fragment of *mortarium*, type 2*b* (as before).

Clay, very hard dark red; studded inside with white quartz particles.

Height, $2\frac{3}{4}$ ins.; orig. diam. about 12 ins.

Potter's stamp across the rim DOC. See Appendix, Stamps on *Mortaria*, no. 4. (For stamp cf. *Wroxeter* I, p. 67, fig. 16, no. 4, DOCI, on rim, type 58. For shape, cf. *Wroxeter* I, p. 78, fig. 19, type 54, A.D. 80-120; *Newstead*, p. 265, pl. XLV, type 25 and pl. L(A), fig. 8, A.D. 140-180. Cf. Walters *Cat.*, p. LIV, M2780, DOCCIV[S, C.I.L. VII, 1334, 25).

146 (O.M. 447). Rim-fragment of *mortarium*, type *Wroxeter* I, p. 78, fig. 19, 98 or 102, latter part of second century.

Clay, hard gritty dirty brownish-white.

Orig. diam. about $12\frac{1}{4}$ ins.

Potter's stamp across the rim [A or E]NNIVS. See Appendix, Stamps on *Mortaria*, no. 2.

147 (O.M. 527). Rim-fragment of *mortarium*, type *Wroxeter* I, p. 77, fig. 19, type 94.

Clay, dirty white.

Orig. diam. of rim $9\frac{1}{4}$ ins.

Studded inside with small black particles.

148 (O.M. 26). Side-fragment of *mortarium*, cf. *Wroxeter* I, p. 77, fig. 19, type 78, A.D. 90-120.

Clay, very hard dense red, studded inside with crushed white quartz.

Orig. diam. about $12\frac{1}{2}$ ins.

149 (8-03). Rim-fragment of large *mortarium* with small upright rim and large roll-moulded flange about half an inch below lip.

Clay, dirty drab.

150 (74-07) found at Stanwix. Rim-fragment of *mortarium*, type 3*b* (hammer-head), *Silchester*, p. 151f. (*Wroxeter* I, p. 79,

* And these *Transactions*, N.S. XV, p. 164, at Maryport.

fig. 20, types 178-214, about 200-400 A.D. *Poltross Burn*, p. 452, pl. v, nos. 1-4, about 270-330 A.D.).

White pipe-clay of chalky consistency.

Diam. on top of oblique collar, about 12 ins. ; on outer edge of collar, about $15\frac{1}{2}$ ins.

151 (ϕ 1892-100). Rim-fragment of *mortarium, Wroxeter* I, fig. 19, type 118, probably not before middle of third century ; painted on the top of the rim with a band of pointed arches (*ova inverted*).

Clay, dirty white, charged with coarse sand.

Orig. diam. of outer edge of rim about 14 ins.

Plate XII.—Terra Nigra and Allied Wares.

Types 152-158, 161-165.

(For Nos. 159-160 see plate XIII).

152 (O.M. 135, 139) from Presbyterian Manse, Fisher Street, 1891. Ewer with handle, oval body, neck separated by a ledge or offset and ascending in a long sweeping curve to a beaded rim once understepped ; foot beaded ; under-base grooved and slightly domed.

Clay, grey with darker, nearly black coating.

Height, $8\frac{7}{8}$ ins. ; diams., body $5\frac{5}{8}$, base $3\frac{3}{16}$ ins.

The shape imitates a bronze ewer, of which an example found in pit LVII at *Newstead*, pl. LVI, is of the early period A.D. 80-96 ; and others found at Pompeii are before A.D. 79. The bronze examples are in turn derived from the Greek hand-hydria.

153 (O.M. 132, 142) found at west end of Scotch Street entrance to Market, at a depth of 15 feet, 3rd December, 1882. Spherical bottle (mouthpiece wanting) ; neck separated at base by a ledge or offset ; under-base slightly domed ; shoulder slightly polished and ornamented with three girth-grooves and wavy line.

Clay, hard heavy fumed grey to black.

Present height about 7 ins. ; diams., bulge $6\frac{5}{8}$, base $3\frac{1}{16}$ ins.

The width of the holder is greater than its height, suggesting a first-century date (see Table of Standard Proportions, *Silchester*, p. 295).

154 (137). Class B, section II, British Wares. Spherical bottle with recurved neck and plain rim. Five diagonal lines incised across the rim may be owner's marks.

Clay, dark fumed grey, coated with black glossy scale.

Height, $6\frac{1}{2}$ ins. ; diams., rim $2\frac{5}{16}$, bulge 5, base $2\frac{5}{16}$ ins.

The bottle is much commoner on Late Celtic and Belgic sites than Roman. One of similar form but more contracted base is

recorded at Heddernheim potteries (*Hedd. Mitteil.* IV, p. 132, fig. 17, A.D. 133-200).

155 (2-00, 141). Class B, section II, British Wares. Pear-shaped bottle; mouthpiece moulded; foot separated by a concavity; under-base turned hollow. Round the middle of the bulge three bands of roulette-notches.

Clay, hard sandy light grey, darker coating.

Height, $7\frac{1}{4}$ ins.; diams., bulge $4\frac{7}{8}$, base $2\frac{1}{4}$ ins.

Cf. preceding no. **154**, and similar bottle found in grave (*Führer durch Trier Prov. Mus.*, p. 100, fig. 1, no. 3740) with coin of Hadrian, A.D. 117-138.

156 (5-07, 228) found at Cowan Sheldon's Works, Carlisle, 1907. Pear-shaped beaker or *olla* (restored); rim straight, slightly thickened and obliquely outset; foot beaded and separated by a groove on the under-base, which is turned hollow; ornamented round the middle with a three-inch wide zone of raised ridges (rustic or rockwork) *en barbotine*, bordered above by a wide groove.

Clay, fine hard reddish grey (probably damaged by fire).

Height, $6\frac{1}{4}$ ins.; diams., rim $5\frac{7}{8}$, bulge $6\frac{7}{8}$, base $2\frac{11}{16}$ ins.

This is a widely distributed type of Belgic (Upchurch) beaker * with rustic or rockwork decoration, well represented in York Mus. (*Cat.*, p. 51, pl. XIV *a*, *b*; *Silchester*, p. 190, pl. LXXVIII, no. 3; *Newstead*, p. 247, pl. XLVI, type 29, Flavian period, A.D. c. 80-100). The kind of ornament appears on small hemispherical cups which are dated at *Hofheim* (1912), pp. 251, 359, type 22, A.D. 40-51; *Silchester*, p. 113, pl. XLVII, type 50.

157 (O.M. 264, 201) from foundations of New Market under fourth pillar from Tower Street, next Scotch Street, Carlisle, April, 1888. Ovoid beaker or *olla*; rim slightly curved and oblique; foot separated by a concavity; under-base slightly hollowed.

Clay, hard coarse sandy dirty grey; smoothed slightly outside, but showing marks of careless throwing.

Height, $6\frac{1}{4}$ ins.; diams., rim 5, bulge $6\frac{5}{16}$, base $2\frac{1}{2}$ ins.; proportions, 80 : 100 : 40, indicating the last quarter of the first century as the probable date (*Silchester*, p. 293, Table IV; *Newstead*, p. 254, pl. XLIX(A), fig. 5.

158 (O.M. 129, 202). Pear-shaped *olla*, with bead rim separated by a groove.

Clay, fine hard pale grey, smoothed externally.

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* Italic black, grey and red wares unglazed and Gaulish red glazed *sigillata* wares were imported *pari passu* into Britain and imitated locally from an early date. Belgic types are distinguishable by their oblique rims, ogee contours, and Late Celtic ornamentation from Gaulish *sigillata* forms numbered 1 to 82 by Dragendorff, Déchelette and others.

Height, $6\frac{3}{8}$ ins. ; diams., rim $4\frac{5}{16}$, bulge $6\frac{1}{4}$, base $2\frac{9}{16}$ ins. ; proportions, 67 : 98 : 40 ; margins, 40 : 45, pointing to about the end of the first century as the date of its appearance (*Silchester*, p. 302, Table IX ; *Newstead*, p. 246, fig. 25, 13, Flavian).

159, Plate XIII (20-07). Ovoid *olla*, used as a cinerary urn and containing burnt bones and a coin of Domitian, A.D. 81-96.

Clay, sandy light grey, dipped to a line near foot in darker slip, decorated with a zone $4\frac{1}{4}$ ins. wide round the middle of latticed lines.

Height, $7\frac{1}{4}$ ins. ; diams., rim $5\frac{3}{8}$, bulge 6, base $2\frac{7}{8}$-$2\frac{13}{16}$ ins. ; proportions, 74 : 88 : 40 ; margins, 9 : 38, indicating a late second-century date (*Silchester*, p. 303, Table IX).

160, Plate XIII (P12-97), Class B, Section II, British ; from the collection of the late James Mawson of Lowther, found in Botchergate, Carlisle. Pear-shaped *olla* with short recurved neck and horizontally outbent, level topped, half-round moulded rim.

Clay, smooth well levigated hard grey.

Height, $8\frac{1}{4}$ ins. ; diams., lip $5\frac{1}{2}$, bulge $7\frac{1}{2}$, base $3\frac{1}{4}$ ins. ; proportions, 66 : 91 : 39 ; margins, 31 : 46, corresponding nearly to those in Table IX of Standard Proportions (*Silchester Pottery*, p. 302) dated about the middle of the second century.

161 (R.F. 152, 1892, 210). Small *olla* with cavetto rim ; round the body a zone, $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. wide, of scored lattice lines.

Clay, hard dark grey ; fumed and polished above and below the latticed zone.

Height, $5\frac{3}{4}$ ins. ; diams., rim $4\frac{3}{8}$, bulge $4\frac{9}{16}$, base $2\frac{3}{16}$ ins. ; proportions, 76 : 79 : 38 ; margins, 3 : 33 (*Silchester*, p. 160, pl. LXVI, type 197 ; p. 303, Table IX, with coins of Constantine I, 306-337 A.D.*).

162 (R.F. 108) from Friars' Garden, Carlisle. Inverted cone-shaped mug, with two-ribbed handle, and bead-rim ; round the middle a zone of latticed lines bordered above by a groove.

Clay, fumed grey, nearly black.

Height, $3\frac{3}{8}$ ins. ; diams., rim $3\frac{11}{16}$, base $2\frac{5}{8}$ ins.

This simple natural form is one employed by potters of every age. A coarser and clumsier example found in a tumulus on the plateau of Ger, France (Déchelette, *Manuel d'Archéologie* II, part 2, p. 816, fig. 329, no. 7) is of the second Hallstatt period of the Early Iron Age, B.C. 700-500. The scored lattice is equally common from the La Tène period of the Early Iron Age downwards. It is met with on the cineraries of Upper Italy (Montelius,

* Both these have later proportions than the Carlisle piece, no. **161**.—D.A.

La Civ. Prim. en Italie, series B, pl. 45, no. 6). Conical mugs were found during excavations in Cranborne Chase at Woodcuts (Pitt-Rivers, *Excavations in Cranborne Chase*, I, pl. XXXIV, 3, 6); at Rotherley (*id.* II, XXXIV, *a*, *b*); and of light buff clay, apparently local, frequently at Wroxeter (*Report* I, p. 75, fig. 18, no. 40) where they were in use in the second half of the second and in the third century A.D.

163 (R.F. 92-1892, 129). Smaller one-handled mug with small oblique rim separated from the body by a groove.

Clay, hard grey, burnt red accidentally on one side.

Height, $4\frac{3}{8}$ ins.; diams., rim $3\frac{1}{8}$, bulge $3\frac{5}{8}$, base $1\frac{7}{8}$ ins.

Cf. *Newstead*, p. 256, fig. 31, A.D. 140-180.

164 (10-04A, 128). One-handled mug; rim small and outbent; body *olla*-shaped slightly outbulged; handle two-ribbed upright.

Clay, dense heavy hard grey to nearly black.

Height, $5\frac{1}{16}$ ins.; diams., rim $3\frac{3}{8}$, bulge $3\frac{7}{8}$, base $2\frac{1}{8}$ ins.

Cf. one-handled mug of much earlier Late Celtic date found in Wookey Hole, Somerset (*Archaeologia*, vol. 62, pt. 1, fig. 12, no. 6) ornamented with scored fir-tree or herring-bone pattern, and several found by Pitt-Rivers (*op. cit.* I, p. 103, pl. XXXIV, no. 6; II, p. 153, pl. XXXIV, *b*) and *Silchester* (p. 160, pl. LXVI, type 200, dated A.D. 200-250).

165 (5-98-132) from Stanwix, 1898. One-handled stunted mug, handle distorted and partly broken off; rim small rising vertically from a horizontal ledge on the shoulder.

Clay, hard light grey.

Height, $3\frac{15}{16}$ ins.; diams., rim $3\frac{3}{16}$, bulge $4\frac{1}{2}$, base $1\frac{5}{8}$-$1\frac{11}{16}$ ins. (cf. *Poltross Burn*, pl. V, no. 23, A.D. 270-330).

PLATE XIII. TERRA NIGRA AND ALLIED WARES, nos. 159-160, 166-176.
TILE-RED AND OTHER COARSE WARES, nos. 177-181.

166 (R.F. 110-200). Upright thick-sided bowl, broad based, with triangular obliquely outbent rim grooved thrice on top; angularly moulded foot; decorated with three girth-grooves round the upper portion of the side.

Clay, very dense heavy hard grey.

Height, $3\frac{3}{4}$ ins.; diams., rim $5\frac{1}{8}$, bulge $5\frac{3}{8}$, base 3 ins.

167 (O.M. 171-138) from Presbyterian Manse, Fisher Street, Carlisle. Unguent pot (?) body spherical, shoulder carinated and separated from the neck by a groove; rim widely outbent to a square-edged lip.

Clay, nearly black, polished and apparently coated lightly with graphite.

Height, $4\frac{1}{4}$ ins. ; diams., rim $3\frac{3}{4}$, bulge 5 ins.

The form is often met with in glass (*Antiken Gläser zu Köln*, p. 146, pl. XXIV, no. 194 ; *Ludowici* III, grave 70, fig. 42) and is based on that of the Greek *aryballos*, intended to hold oil for use in the bath and to be carried on a brass chain attached to the girdle. A parallel example found in Victoria Park, London, is included under Late Celtic pottery by the author of the Guildhall Mus. Cat.* (p. 20, no. 291, pl. VI, no. 9).

168 (R.F. 68, 1882—98). Ovoid beaker with conical neck contracting to an oblique rim and separated from the body by an offset or ledge. Pierced on the shoulder with a hole where a tubular spout has been attached.

Clay, coarse dark grey.

Height, $3\frac{1}{4}$ ins. ; diams., rim 2, bulge $3\frac{1}{16}$, base $1\frac{7}{16}$ ins.

Vase or urn with similar inset shoulder recorded by Gibson and Simpson, *Poltross Burn*, p. 452, pl. IV, no. 34, is of second period A.D. 180-270.

169 (26-14-37) found beneath Carr & Co.'s shop in Botchergate when digging foundations. Small slightly bulged pot or pipkin, with small upright rim twice grooved round the outside.

Clay, hard light grey, coated with hot-polished bitumen to which graphite (black lead) has been added.

Height, $3\frac{9}{16}$ ins. ; diams., rim 2, bulge $2\frac{3}{4}$, base $1\frac{1}{2}$ ins.

A small indentation made before baking suggests that this piece may be a waster from a local pottery.

170 (R.F. 69-102). Globular pot, beaker or pipkin with small rim rising slightly from a sloping ledge, or flat band, on the shoulder.

Clay, coarse red, with black coating.

Height, $2\frac{7}{16}$ ins. ; diams., rim $2\frac{1}{4}$, bulge 3, base $1\frac{11}{16}$ ins.

171 (26-14-38) found in excavating String-of-Horses Inn cellar, English Street, Carlisle, 1856. Unguent pot, with pear-shaped body, widely offset mouthpiece grooved on the outer edge, and slightly raised stump-ended foot.

Clay, coarse hard dark grey, coated with matt black (bitumen ?)

Height, $3\frac{1}{4}$ ins. ; diams., rim $1\frac{9}{16}$, bulge $2\frac{1}{4}$, base $1\frac{1}{4}$ ins. Cf. no. **181** below.

172 (28-17). Small bowl on a flat base, with a slightly downbent flange $\frac{5}{8}$ in. below the top of the upright side ; and on the inside, $\frac{3}{8}$ in. below the lip, a slight groove.

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* As are many other common Roman-British types.—D.A.

Clay, very hard dense heavy dark grey.

Height, 2 ins.; diams., rim $5\frac{13}{16}$, flange $6\frac{3}{4}$, base $2\frac{5}{8}$ ins.

The flanged bowl of similar form in Belgic *terra nigra* is generally furnished with a foot-ring.

173 (O.M. 123-166) found 15 ft. from surface west side of Scotch Street entrance to New Market, December, 1887, with O.M. 121 and 155. Small bowl on a flat base, with a thick horizontal flange half an inch below the top of the upright side.

Clay, very hard dense heavy dark grey, with darker coating on the top of flange and outside of rim.

Height, $2\frac{1}{8}$ ins.; diams., rim $4\frac{11}{16}$, flange $5\frac{7}{8}$, base $2\frac{1}{4}$ ins.

Nos. **172** and **173** are of hard dense clay (boulder-clay or till ?) without sand, and appear to be of local manufacture.

174 (R.F. 1892-9). Small dish or saucer with keeled or angularly bent side about two thirds down, and domed base.

Clay, dark grey to black, charged with fine sand, warped and containing a pebble.

Height, $1\frac{3}{8}$ ins.; diams., rim $6\frac{9}{16}$, base $4\frac{1}{4}$ ins.

The flawed and twisted state of the vessel indicates it to be a waster from kilns at work in the locality. The peculiar shape with angular bend high up on the side is rare, though a bevel round the lower part of the side (for easy insertion of the tips of the fingers beneath) is often met with.

175 (O.M. 528). Side-fragment of small flat one-handled dish; handle small, four-ribbed.

Clay, dark grey, black coated and polished on the outside.

Height, $1\frac{7}{8}$ ins.; original diam. about $6\frac{3}{4}$ ins.

Similar dishes of oval shape with two handles are oftener met with (*Hengistbury Head*, p. 49, pl. XXV, 9; Anderson, *Uriconium*, p. 59, no. 7). Collingwood (these *Transactions*, N.S. XV, fig. 21, no. 16) illustrates a flat dish with handle of closely similar shape found in room C of the commandant's house at Ambleside fort.

176 (8-03, 126). Side-fragment of flat steep-sided dish or porringer scored with diagonal cross lines round the outside.

Clay, reddish brown, partially black coated, the clay body showing in patches.

Height, $1\frac{3}{4}$ in.; original diam. about $11\frac{1}{2}$ ins.

The type is too common and featureless to be of service for dating.

177 (29-17). Portion of tall ewer or pitcher (mouthpiece and handle wanting); full-bodied, tapering in a long sweeping curve to a narrow neck and more gradually downwards to a widish

base ; the latter deeply grooved to imitate the flange on the overlapping base of the bronze ewer which is its prototype.

Clay, light reddish brown, with smooth surface.

Present height 8 ins. ; diam. of base $3\frac{3}{16}$ ins.

Cf. bronze ewer, 9 ins. high, found at Westbury camp, in Devizes Museum (*Wilts. Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc. Mag.*, XXXVI, p. 464, pl. IX, fig. 2 ; *Devizes Mus. Cat.*, p. 72, no. 642, pl. XL, 2).

Two similar pitchers with wide flat rims, but apparently of somewhat later date, from the potter's kilns at Heddernheim (*Hedd. Mitteil.* IV, p. 136, pl. XXI, 37, 38) belong to the period of their activity, A.D. 133-200.

178 (R.F. 153). Upper half, with handle, of large wide-mouthed flat-rimmed globular-bodied pitcher, handle two-ribbed extending directly from the edge of the lip ; three girth-grooves, two above and one below the level of the lower attachment of handle.

Clay, light red, with slightly darker smooth outer surface.

Diam. of rim $4\frac{1}{4}$, bulge about 8 ins.

This type of pitcher is recorded on many important continental sites and is based on a metal prototype (*Saalburg Jahrbuch, Zugmantel*, p. 57, fig. 20 ; ORL, *Zugmantel*, pl. XVII, 43 ; *Novaesium*, pl. XXVII, 28 ; *Hedd. Mitteil.* IV, pl. XXI, 43, A.D. 133-200).

179 (T.H. 1892). Neck and handle of pitcher with spout formed by pinching in the rim on the side opposite to the handle, in imitation of the trefoil opening of the ancient bronze *oenochoe* of Greek manufacture going back to the Early Iron Age, B.C. 700-500, on continental sites. *Trans. Essex Archæological Soc.*, vol. XIV, p. 4.

Clay, brick-red, with darker outside surface.

Haltern V, type 54, B.C. 11-A.D. 9 ; *Hofheim* (1912), type 54, A.D. 40-51 ; *Hedd. Mitteil.* IV, p. 137, pl. XXI, 45, A.D. 133-200 ; *York*, p. 84, pl. XX, 4, with raised handle ; *Silchester*, p. 143, pl. LXI, 1 ; pl. LXII, type 115.

180 (30-17). Rim-fragment of deep rimmed bowl, with straight side obliquely outset, scored on the outside with latticed lines.

Clay, dark grey with black coating.

181 (T.H. 1892, 33). Unguent pot with pear-shaped body, widely offset mouthpiece grooved on the outer edge, and high stump-ended foot separated by a concavity. Round the body slender girth-grooves in imitation of helical groove on earlier forms.

Clay, hard smooth pale buff.

Height, $3\frac{13}{16}$ ins. ; diams., rim $1\frac{3}{16}$-$1\frac{5}{16}$, bulge 2, base $1\frac{1}{4}$ ins.

Cf. earlier example of same type with wider rim and broader and lower foot, no. **171** preceding.

PLATE XIV.—COARSE CLAY WARES. UNCOATED FACE VASES.

Nos. 182-184.

182 (28, 14-02). Human mask from the mouth of a bottle or flagon. This rudely modelled male head has a crimped edging above the forehead to represent a cap or coronet ; a row of applied discs irregularly notched over the brow to represent ornaments ; long curved ridges notched across for eyebrows ; balls of clay with incised dot and circle for eyeballs and iris ; and notched ridges for eyelids ; raised bands with notched chevrons for side-whiskers, beard and moustache. Thin lips drawn down at the ends give the mouth a cruel expression. Clay, light red.

Urns with human faces of more or less rude modelling on the shoulder or opening have been found in different parts of the continent, and their origin has been traced through Germany, Greece, Etruria, to the Egyptian *canopus.*

Déchelette, vol. II, p. 324, pl. VIII, fig. 3, describes small flagons with necks in the form of a human head, usually female, and colour-coated and painted with patterns or merely zones of red colour, as being pretty widely distributed in Germany, Britain and the north of France, particularly in Boulogne museum and as far as Poitiers, and as a type of pottery of the third and fourth centuries (Sauvage, *Les vases céramiques Gallo-Romaines du Musée de Boulogne-sur-Mer*, p. 24, no. 14). One of the principal centres of manufacture was at Worms, Hesse, from the middle of the third to the beginning of the fourth century (Behn, *Röm. Keramik*, p. 115, no. 798 ; p. 199, nos. 1328-1330 ; p. 251, nos. 1700-3) and another at Trier (*ibid.*, p. 198, no. 1323, pl. VI, nos. 3-6). A classical prototype has been recognised by Undset (*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, vol. XXII (1890), p. 141, fig. 36) at Ruvo.

Among British examples are several in Colchester Museum (*Joslin Coll.*, grave groups 11, no. 51 ; 12, no. 58 ; 15, no. 83 ; 36, no. 213, and General Coll., no. 702-04, which is a work of a superior (Hellenic ?) art ; also in British Museum (*Cat.* p. liii, M. 2757-2760), Guildhall Museum (*Cat.* p. 90, no. 250, pl. VI, 6), *York* (p. 46, pl. XIII*a*, no. 2) ; see also *Antiquities of Richborough, Reculver and Lymne*, p. 74 ; *Cat. of Chesters Museum* (Northumberland), pp. 68, 391, no. 19, table-case A.

183 (143) found at Burgh-by-Sands, 1866. Female head, open above in the form of a cup, forming the mouth of a one-handled flask or flagon. A diadem-shaped projection, with oblique rows of punctures over the brow, representing an

ornament, serves also as an upright spout for pouring on the side opposite to the handle, which is preserved, along with a small attached portion of the body. The nose is a poorly modelled prominent projection with slits underneath for nostrils; the eyes and mouth are projecting lumps with deep horizontal slits; locks of hair are represented by disorderly ridges on either side. Clay, light grey, hard.

184 (R.F. 103). Two female faces and a smaller figure conjoined, of rude modelling, from the mouth of a flask or flagon of coarse brick-red uncoated clay. The vessel itself appears to be of local manufacture.

Plate XV.—Coarse Clay Wares, uncoated.

Triple-Vases; Nos. 185-190.

Triple Vases.—In a booklet on *Roman (and other) Triple Vases*, Walter J. Kaye, jun., notes the occurrence of triple vases in ancient Egypt, Troy, Algeria, Cyprus, Italy, Germany, France, Mexico, Peru, Japan. Munro in *Lake Dwellings of Europe*, p. 43, fig. 9, no. 23, illustrates an example from the lake dwelling of Auvernier, Lake of Neuchâtel. They have also been found in early Egyptian sites.

Those of the Roman period appear in two different general designs: (1) Self-supported or each standing on its own base, their point of contact being at the widest portion of the body, where they are ligatured and pierced with small holes for intercommunication, (2) Ring-mounted, or supported on hollow rings, which are pierced with holes for intercommunication where the bases of the vases are attached. They are not always in threes, a fourth member of different shape not in communication with the others being sometimes added, though the three others of the set are always alike and in communication.

The frontispiece and fig. 10, on p. 35, of the booklet mentioned above, illustrate ring-mounted sets associated with pedestalled cups or chalices ornamented with frills on the salient angles of the sides known as "incense cups," and it is suggested that they were intended for ritual or oblatory use. Their intended purpose was evidently a homely one as they are invariably formed of ordinary unglazed earthenware and of small dimensions. The contents of all those in communication were alike and as they held only a small quantity they required to be frequently replenished and clean water is the only liquid for which unglazed earthenware is suitable, owing to its porosity and liability to

fouling. Having been found in graves they may have been used to contain daily offerings of flowers and incense before the *Lares* and *Penates* of the domestic shrine, as suggested by Mr. Kaye.

The approximate dates of the sets can be estimated from the shape and proportions of the separate members, which conform to those of the ordinary utensils in domestic use at the periods to which they belong.

185 (9-90, 10). One whole and fragments of broken members of a triplet set of self-supported vases in juxtaposition, intercommunicating through small holes in the adjacent sides at the widest part, about one-third down from the top.

Rim slightly recurved, body pear-shaped; foot outset to a narrow margin and separated by a concavity.

Clay, tile-red uncoated.

Height, $3\frac{1}{2}$ ins.; diams., rim $2\frac{3}{8}$, bulge $3\frac{1}{4}$, base $1\frac{7}{16}$ ins.; proportions, 67 : 92 : 41.

186 (R.F. 89-134). Two whole and one broken members of a similar set of self-supported vases.

Small upright rim springing from a level ledge on the shoulder of a pear-shaped body; stump-ended foot.

Clay, dark grey.

Height, $3\frac{3}{8}$ ins.; diams., rim $2\frac{13}{16}$, bulge $3\frac{5}{8}$, base $1\frac{5}{16}$ ins.; proportions, 64 : 107 : 38.

Cf. one-handled mug, no. **165** preceding, with similar upright rim and horizontal ledge on shoulder.

187 (T.H. 65). One whole and two fragments of a similar set of self-supported vases thickly ligatured at the adjacent portions of the bulge; small oblique rim, bulgy body, stump-ended foot separated by a deep concavity.

Clay, dark grey.

Height, $3\frac{5}{8}$ ins.; diams., rim $1\frac{11}{16}$, bulge $3\frac{3}{8}$, base $1\frac{5}{16}$ ins.; proportions, 46 : 93 : 36, and apparently of later date than the preceding.

188 (27-04, 135). One whole and two fragments of a similar set of self-supported triplet vases, thickly ligatured at the adjacent portions of the sides.

Rim small oblique and separated by a ledge, body ovoid, foot outset and separated by a deep concavity.

Clay, dark grey.

Height, $3\frac{1}{8}$ ins.; diams., rim $1\frac{13}{16}$, bulge $2\frac{5}{8}$, base $1\frac{7}{16}$ ins.; proportions, 57 : 84 : 45.

189 (31-95, 87) found 6 feet down at Petteril side, Carlisle, Single member of a set of triple vases with small thin-edged oblique

rim and spherical body on a small stump-ended foot separated by a deep and wide concavity. A $\frac{1}{8}$ in. hole in the widest portion of the bulge is surrounded by the rough edges of the ligature which has been broken off.

Clay, pale red.

Height, $3\frac{1}{8}$ ins. ; diams., rim 2, bulge $3\frac{3}{8}$, base $1\frac{1}{16}$ ins.

190 *a, b.* Two hollow ring supports of ring-mounted sets of triple vases ; the top sides retain rough edges and portions of bases from which the vases have been broken and the holes of communication through the base.

(*a*) (R.F. 84). Clay, buff. Diameter $4\frac{1}{8}$ ins.

(*b*) (O.M. 79). Clay, black, diameter $4\frac{7}{8}$ ins.

Plate XVI.—Coarse Clay Wares, uncoated.

Large Urns and Cooking Pots. Nos. 191-194.

191 (24-09) found near the Roman camp at Beckfoot, Mowbray, Cumberland, 12th December, 1908. Large narrow-necked store vessel (bottle-necked *olla*) ; neck upright and separated by a cordon from the body ; rim strongly outcurved, slightly down-bent and grooved on the top for a lid ; body ovoid, without foot-ring.

Clay, coarse sandy red, with traces of polish on the outside and on inside of neck.

Height, $10\frac{1}{4}$ ins. ; diams., rim $5\frac{1}{2}$, bulge $9\frac{3}{8}$, base $3\frac{1}{2}$ ins.

Such large store-vessels with narrow necks and broad rims, sometimes like the above specimen grooved or recessed for a lid, or for insertion of a wooden bung, are of Belgic or Late Celtic origin, as shown by their ornamentation with cordons, raised bands, comb-markings, scored nets and chevrons, and black polish (*terra nigra*). Their derivation from this source is confirmed by the statistics of their distribution. They are found in the pre-Roman pits at *Silchester*, pl. LXVIII, type 145 ; pl. LXXV, 3, 5, 6 ; pl. LXXVI, nos. 9, 10 ; pl. LXXVII, nos. 1, 2 ; pl. LXXVIII, no. 4 ; Colchester Mus., Joslin Coll., grave groups 121 (nos. 597-9), 112 (572-3), 87 (474) ; *Haltern* V, type 89, Belgic ware.*

192 (O.M. 208, 226) found at north-west of Tait Street. Large cinerary urn filled with burnt bones, oval bodied contracting symmetrically above and below in an ogee curve ; rim horizontally outbent, level topped and angularly moulded ; on the

* The type seems to continue in the Roman period nearly to the end of the first century (*cf. Newstead*, pl. XLVII, no. 38).—D.A.

shoulder double girth-grooves and a single girth-groove $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. below; the base pierced in the centre with a $\frac{1}{4}$ in. hole.

Clay, soft sandy tile-red, with traces of a glossy darker red (haematite ?) coating.

Height, $10\frac{1}{2}$ ins.; diams., rim $5\frac{1}{2}$, bulge $9\frac{3}{8}$, base $3\frac{3}{4}$ ins.; proportions, 49 : 83 : 33. Drawing reduced to half linear scale of other figures in pl. XVI.

The form of lip is type 5(*a*) *Silchester Pottery*, p 157, described as appearing on the earliest *ollae*, *Haltern* V, type 56, B.C. 11-A.D. 9, and as disappearing about the end of the second century. Though its shape in general outline is that of urns called Late Celtic by the author of the *Guildhall Mus. Cat.** (p. 18, no. 271, pl. VI, no. 2; Saffron Walden Mus., from Great Chesterford, Essex), this example belongs to a later period when the cordon on the shoulder had been replaced by a pair of girth-grooves towards the end of the first century. Cf. Colchester Mus., *Cat. of Joslin Coll.*, grave group no. 3, no. 16.

193. Not in Tullie House, but illustrating a purely Romano-British type found on the line of the Wall of Hadrian. Large deep, wide mouthed cooking-pot with recurved rim overhanging the side.

Clay, coarse uncoated.

Height, $8\frac{1}{16}$ ins.; diams., rim $9\frac{1}{2}$, bulge $9\frac{1}{4}$, base $3\frac{7}{8}$ ins. Drawing reduced to half linear scale of other figures in pl. XVI.

This is of unusual shape, the width of rim being greater than the height and much greater than that of bulge and base. A pair of similar form and of coarse tile-red clay found at Wilderspool in a pit are in Warrington Museum. Several have been found at Wroxeter, where they appear to have been manufactured (*Wroxeter Report* (1914), p. 64, pl. XXVIII, nos. 78, 79); the majority were in association with late wares, and a few in not very well defined second-century deposits. Cf. Bosanquet, Housesteads Report, *Arch. Ael.*, vol. XXV, p. 297, fig. 55, no. 8, and vol. VIII, p. 256, the latter containing a hoard of coins ending with Aurelian, A.D. 270-275.

194 (30-97. 215) found in digging ordinary foundations (without cellar) of dwelling-house at Woodruffe Terrace, Carlisle, 1897. Large *olla* with high shoulder suddenly inbent to a flat recurved rim grooved on the inner margin for a lid; the under part of the body nearly straight-sided tapering slightly to a flat base (*Silchester*, p. 158, type 8).

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* See note to **167** above.—D.A.

Clay, hard coarse leather-brown, gritted, or charged with white grains of calcite (crystalline carbonate of lime), most of which have dissolved or decayed away, leaving the surface pitted with holes, some of which penetrate the side; therefore sometimes described as *vesicular*.

Height, $10\frac{1}{16}$ ins.; diams., rim $7\frac{1}{4}$, bulge $8\frac{1}{4}$, base $4\frac{1}{4}$ ins.; proportions, 70 : 78 : 40; margins, 8 : 36.

This type at Corbridge, Poltross Burn and other stations on the Wall of Hadrian has been found to descend to the latest period of the occupation—about the middle or end of the fourth century (*Poltross Burn*, p. 453, pl. v, no. 6, A.D. 270-330). Cf. also numerous rims of similar ware from the late fourth-century fort at Huntcliff, J.R.S. II, p. 228f., fig. 40.

APPENDIX.

I.—Potters' Names on *Terra Sigillata* in the Carlisle Museum.

The order of entry is:—(Museum number); number in this catalogue, if any; STAMP, (name), shape, place and date, (references).

(O.M. 477) no. **60** above, ADVOCISI (Advocisus), 37, and

(T.H. 1892, 48) ADVOCISI O, 38/44; Lezoux, A.D. 140-180 (Déch. I, p. 197 and 247-8 on ornamental bowls form 37, in the style of large medallions and free figures, series *b*. Curle, *Newstead*, pp. 228, 231, later period, A.D. 140-180. *Arch. Ael.* VIII, 1912, p. 192, Corbridge. Walters, *Cat.* M1640, bowl 31; M1748, cup 80. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 43; VII, 1336, 16, and 1337, 2; also at Lincoln, Cirencester, Chester, Wilderspool, Manchester, Lancaster and South Shields. *Wroxeter* I, pp. 40, 47, no. 3; *Corbridge, Arch. Ael.* XII, p. 277; *Silchester*, p. 200, forms 31, 33, 37, 51, 80, pl. xxvi, no. 54, large medallions).

(O.M. 456) AETERNII (Aeternius) 31; Allier district; this is indicated to be the stamp of a late potter by its absence from early deposits and by the shape of vessel (*Collect. Antiq.* VI, p. 71. *Vict. Co. Hist.*, Leicester, p. 201. Walters, *Cat.* M 2034, cup 33. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 52, recorded in six Gaulish localities only; VII, 1336, 23; also at Chester.

(T.H. 1892, 95) ALBANV (*retro*), (Albanus) within a roulette-notched wreath and incised circle, 18; probably South Gaulish, A.D. 69-79* (*Coll. Antiq.* VI, p. 71, Allier district. Knorr, *Rottweil*

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* Albanus, Cosius et Rufinus, Crestus (Crestio), Virtus and Vitalis (see below) occur in early forms at Neuss (Sels Collection); date therefore c. 35-85.—D.A.

1907, p. 57, OF ALBAN, A.D. 69-79. Ritterling, *Hofheim* 1912, p. 236, SEX · ALBANI, A.D. 40-83. C.I.L. VII, 1336, 32-4. *Archaeologia*, LXVI, pp. 239, 256, London first cent. Knorr, *Aislingen*, p. 48, A.D. 69-79).

(O.M. 482) ALBVCI OF, last two letters doubtful (Albucius), 31, and

(60-17) ALBVC/ 33, Lezoux A.D. 110-180 (Déch. I, p. 197 and pp. 248-250, many examples of bowl 37 in late style of medallions and free figures. He also uses figured types of Cinnamus and Paternus. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10011, 146; 10010, 85, ALBVC'OF (O with centre dot), ALBVCI; VII, 1337, 4; 1336, 45-7. Also found at Colchester, Cirencester, Leicester, Corbridge and Birrens, N.B. Walters, *Cat.*, M 1469, 1470, bowls 37; M 1605, dish 18; M 1644, dish 31; M 1749, bowl 80. *Silchester*, p. 201-2, pl. XVI, bowl 30, figures in panels, style of early second century; *ibid.*, p. 42, A.D. 110-180).

(O.M. 78) AVITV (Avitus), 27; La Grauf., A.D. 69-80 (Déch. I, p. 81, and 253 ornamented bowl. Knorr, *Rottweil* 1907, p. 57, time of Vespasian (after 74). Walters, *Cat.*, M 6, bowl 29. Curle, *Newstead*, p. 232, AVITVSFEC, La Grauf., and p. 231, AVITVS, bowl 31; the latter was contemporary with Reginus, Ruffus, Cinnamus, A.D. 140-180. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 238; 10011, 157; VII, 1336, 121-6; also at Colchester, Cirencester, Leicester, Chester, Corbridge, Ardoch and Bar Hill, N.B., *Silchester*, p. 205; recorded examples are referable to more than one potter. The stamp AVITVSF found at Lezoux, Rheinzabern and Ittenweiler is that of another potter who worked in the Antonine period, A.D. 138-161; *Ludowici* III, p. 8-9; Forrer, *Heiligenberg*, p. 238).

(ϕ 91) no. **77** above, BANVOS, written in large letters in decoration (Banuos or Banuus) ,37, Lezoux, first half of second century (Déch. I, 253 ff.; Corbridge 1914, p. 278, BANNVI · M, shape 31 and 33; Walters, *Cat.* M 42, BANVI, shape 37; so on 37 at South Shields, Colchester, Cirencester and York; ORL *Zugmantel*, p. 129; time of Pius and perhaps Marcus (Barthel); C.I.L. XIII, 10011, 27, 160).

(O.M. 473) BIGA · FEC within an incised circle (Biga), 31; place uncertain, A.D. 120-170* (*Bonn. Jahrb.* 99, 1896, p. 54. His stamped ware has been found with coins of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius. Walters, *Cat.* M 1941, bowl 31; M 2052, cup 33.

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* Rather, c. 100-150. Updown (Kent) on form illustrated in Corbridge Report 1911, fig. 9, no. 116, with stamp of NICEPHORF (below); Wroxeter Report 1913, p. 32, deposit mostly of above date.—D.A.

C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 294 ; VII, 1336, 146-7 ; also at York and Chester. *Silchester*, p. 207. Gaulish).

(O.M. 17) BORILLI · OFFIC within a roulette-notched wreath (Borillus), 31 ; Lezoux, A.D. 140-180 (Déch. I, p. 197 and 256, ornamented bowls 37 in the styles of metopes and free figures, series *b*. Curle, *Newstead*, p. 232, cup 33, A.D. 140-180. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 341 ; VII, 1336, 167-171 ; also at Wilderspool, Lancaster, Cirencester, Camelon and Birrens, N.B. ; *Silchester*, p. 207).

(40-17) BRICCI · M within an incised circle (Briccus), 31 ; Lezoux, the shapes of vessels indicate a second-century date (Déch. I, p. 197, and 256 ornamented mould. Walters, *Cat.* M 1628, cup 27 ; M 1691-3, cup 33. *Silchester*, p. 208, bowl 38. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10011, 48 ornamented ; 10010, 354 ; VII, 1336, 176-8.

(41-17) BVRDO (Burdo,-onis), 38/44 ; Gaulish, A.D. 98-150 (ORL, XIV, no. 73, Pfünz, Raetia *Bonn. Jahrb.* 99, 1896, p. 54. His stamped wares have been found at Pfünz, founded by Trajan, and at Rottweil, which survived to about A.D. 150. Walters, *Cat.* M 2054-6, cup 33. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 368 ; VII, 1336, 182-6 ; also at Chester and Aldborough ; *Silchester*, p. 208, cup 27, BVRDON).

(T.H. 104) OFCAI (*retro*) (Caius), 27 ; Gaulish, A.D. 40-105 (*Collect. Antiq.* VI, p. 71, Tudot's list, probably Lezoux. *Bonn. Jahrb.* 111/112, *Novaesium*, OFCAI, *retro*, cup 27, A.D. 40-105. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 397 ; VII, 1336, 204-6 ; also at Colchester, Lincoln, Cirencester and *Silchester*, p. 209, bowl 24/5, usually before A.D. 68. Corbridge, *Arch. Ael.* XII, p. 278, CAIOF, cup 33.

(O.M. 484) no. **109** above, CALAVA · F (Calava), 38 or 44 ; Gaulish. Occurs at Osterburken (A.D. 161) and at Chesters, quoted about A.D. 120. Walters, *Cat.* M 1765, bowl 18 ; M 1943, bowl 18/31, probably Lezoux. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 401 ; VII, 1336, 208 ; also at Wilderspool, bowl 18/31, and *Silchester*, p. 209, bowl 18/31).

(42-17) CAK · ETIM the bar of A formed like a T (Caletus or Caletius), 33, Lezoux, about A.D. 140-190 (Déch. I, p. 197, and 258 moulds and bowls, form 37, arcaded. Smith, *Proc. Soc. Ant.* XXII, Pudding Pan Rock, dates A.D. 160-190.* Walters, *Cat.* M 1694-5, cup 33. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10011, 168 ; VII, 1336, 211 ;

* Some authorities hold that this date is too late, and that the period of the Pudding Pan Rock pottery is rather 140 or 150-190. If so, a slight revision of dates is needed also under *Campanus*, *Catianus*, *Habilis*, *Iullinus*, *Maior*, *Mascellio*, *Saturninus*.—D.A.

also at Cirencester, *Silchester*, p. 209, late and incoherent style, and Corbridge, *Arch. Ael.* XII, p. 278, CAL·ETIM, with A and L as above, cup 33.

(T.H. 1892, 37) OF CALVI (Calvus), 27;

(T.H. 1892, 109) OF CALVI, within a roulette-notched wreath, 18/31, and

(T.H. 117, 8-03) OFCALVI (the O with centre dot) in frame, with quarter-round moulding inside the bowl 15; La Grauf., A.D. 69-79 (Déch. I, p. 83. Knorr, *Rottweil* 1907, p. 58, time of Vespasian. *Bonn. Jahrb.* 111-112, *Novaesium*, A.D. 40-105. Walters, *Cat.* M 620-6, bowl 18; M 793-4, cup 27; M 930, cup 33. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 412, in about 50 localities; VII, 1336, 217-9; also at Ramsgate, Cirencester, Chester, Wilderspool, *Silchester*, p. 209, bowl 18, and London, *Archaeologia*, LXVI, p. 256, cup 27, first century A.D.).

(43-17) CAMBVS·F, within incised circle, 33; place uncertain, probably Gaulish (Walters, *Cat.* M 1944, bowl 31; M 2063, cup 33. *Bonn. Jahrb.* 99, 1896, p. 54, at Osterburken, second half of second century, cf. no. **99** above, and St. Colombe. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 414; VII, 1336, 221, London. *Silchester*, p. 210, CAMBI·M, cup 33. Corbridge, *Arch. Ael.* XII, p. 279, bowl 31, cup 33).

(O.M. 468) CAMPANIM (Campanus), 33; Lezoux (Déch. I, p. 234, Smith, *Proc. Soc. Ant.* XXII, p. 395, Pudding Pan Rock, A.D. 160-190. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 418; VII, 1336, 222-3, London; also at Leicester, *Vict. Co. Hist.*, vol. I, p. 201. *Silchester*, p. 210, CAMPANIO; and Corbridge, *Arch. Ael.* XII, p. 279, cup 33, CAMPANIM).

(O.M. 486) CAMV//// (Camulinus), 38/44; Gaulish (*Coll. Ant.* VI, p. 72. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 420. Only found at one other British site, Cirencester, CAMVIINI, reading doubtful).

(T.H. 1892, 125) CATIANIM (*retro*) within an incised circle (Catianus), 33; Lezoux, A.D. 160-190 (*Coll. Ant.* VI, p. 72. Smith, *Proc. Soc. Ant.* XXII, p. 395, Pudding Pan Rock, A.D. 160-190. Walters, *Cat.* M 1698, cup 33; M 1750, bowl 80. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 485; VII, 1336, 263/4; also at Cirencester, CATIANI:M, and *Wroxeter* IV, p. 45).

(Stanwix Bank) CELSIM//// (Celsus), 33, and

(25-94) CELSI . . . 33; Gaulish, probably Lezoux (*Coll. Ant.* VI, p. 72. Walters, *Cat.* M 1939, bowl 31. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 523; VII, 1336, 282-4; 283*a*, from Stanwix, CELSI☙M with ivy leaf stop. Also at Colchester, Cirencester, Lancaster, South Shields and Corbridge, *Arch. Ael.* XII, p. 279, CELSI,

cup 33; CELSIM/, bowl 31; CELS/, bowl 80). The stamp of another potter of the name (CELSVSF) is found often at Rheinzabern, where he worked in the second century (*Ludowici* III, p. 14).

(T.H. 1892, 92))OF CENT(, within a roulette-notched wreath and incised circle (Cen—), 18; probably Gaulish, A.D. 69-79 (Corbridge, *Arch. Ael.* XII, p. 279, bowls 18, 29, ornamented, OF·CEN. *Silchester*, p. 212, OF·C·EN. Knorr, *Rottweil* 1907, p. 58, OFCEN, bowl 18, A.D. 69-79. Lehner, *Novaesium, Bonn. Jahrb.* 111/112, A.D. 40-105. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 528; VII, 1336, 286; also at *Wroxeter* 1914, p. 45).

(54-17) CETTAS·FC) (Cettas or Celtas), 18 (C. R. Smith, *Cat. of London Antiq.*, p. 42, CELTAS·FC. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 548, CETTOS, CETTVSFII, CETTVS, CIILTVω; VII, 1336, 285, London, CELTA·SEC/).

(T.H. 1892, 214) no. **15** above. CIAN/ (Giamilus?) probably La Grauf, 29. (*Bonn. Jahrb.* 99 (1896) p. 54f.; Knorr, *Rottweil* 1907, pp. 30, 58, A·GIAMILVS; *Novaesium*, pp. 340, CIAMILO, 348, CIAM (*retro*) cups 27. C.I.L. XIII, 10010, 965; 10011, 140).

(44-17) CI·N·TI·V·:SS·A (Cintussa), 18/31; place and date uncertain (Walters, *Cat.* M 1703, cup 33. Geissner, *Mainz*, no. 431, cup 27. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 574; VII, 1336, 315).

(22-04) no. **90** above. C]OBNERTV/ (Cobnertus), raised letters vertically among ornaments, 30; Lezoux, before A.D. 100, Rheinzabern after A.D. 100 (Déch. I, p. 197 and 267, ornamented bowls, form 29, three examples. Ludowici III, p. 102, sixty-one examples of bowl 37. Knorr, *Rottenburg* 1910, pp. 19, 20, 69, about A.D. 100; Knorr, *Canstatt and Köngen* 1905, pp. 9, 34, pl. XXIV, figs. 1, 2. *Arch. Ael.* VII, 1911, p. 56; XII, 279, Corbridge. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 592; VII, 1336, 324; 1337, 20, 21; also at *Silchester*, p. 214, bowl 37, pl. XXVI, no. 39, figures in panels). Probably two potters of the name, one of whom worked at Lezoux before A.D. 100 and another at Rheinzabern A.D. 140-165.

(T.H. 1892, 119) OFCOELI (Coelius), 29; La Grauf., A.D. 60-90 (C.I.L. XIII, 10010, 604). (Déch. I., p. 83 and 256 with Bassus, OF BASSI COEL* on ornamental bowl, form 29. Knorr, *Rottweil* 1907, p. 59, early Vespasian. Walters, *Cat.* M 634, bowl 18, and M 4 OF BASSI COELI.* Lehner, *Novaesium*, A.D. 40-105. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 277; VII, 1336, 335; 1336, 136, OF BASSI CO[ELI]).

(T.H. 1892) CORISILLI) (Corisillus), 38/44; probably Rhein-

* The same piece read differently by Walters and Déchelette.—D.A.

zabern (*Coll. Ant.* I, p. 163, found at Tours. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 645, Lubie, Clermont, Tours, CORISILLI·M, CORISILLVS). The form resembles that of Curle, *Newstead*, p. 200, pl. XL, fig. 19, A.D. 140-180.*

(T.H. 1892, 215) no. **14** above. COSIRV (Cosius [et] Rufinus), 29 ;La Grauf., A.D. 80-120† (Déch. I, p. 84, CS·RVF·O. Curle, *Newstead*, p. 234, early period, A.D. 80-100. Lehner, *Novaesium*, A.D. 40-105. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 654-5 ; VII, 1336, 349, 352. Walters, *Cat.* M 985-7, bowl 18 ; M 997, bowl 31 ; also at Broadstairs, Cirencester, Chester, Camelon N.B. and *Silchester*, p. 215. *Wroxeter* I, p. 51, nos. 41-2, COSIRV COSI·RVFI, A.D. 80-110). Very common.

(T.H. 1892, 128) [COII///F] *retro.*‡ (Cotto ?), 27 ; La Grauf., end of first cent. (*Hofheim*, 1912, 244, uncertain, probably COTTOF. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 678, COTTOF ; VII, 1336, 354-5, London. *Silchester*, p. 216, COTTOF. Curle, *Newstead*, p. 234, end of first century. *Wroxeter* II, p. 34, 166, bowl 18, A.D. 80-120. Knorr, *Aislingen*, p. 53, COTTV, early first century (reading doubtful). C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 678, COTTOF, OOTTOF, OF COTTO, COTTONI).

(45-17) OF CRESI within an incised circle (Crestus, q.*v.*), 18/31 ; La Grauf. (Déch. I, p. 83. Geissner, *Mainz*, nos. 518-522. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 698 ; VII, 1336, 364-5 ; also at Cirencester and *Silchester*, p. 216).

(T.H. 115) no. **12** above. OF CREST *retro.* (Crestus or Crestio, -onis), 29, and

(T.H. 1892, 107) no. **13** above. OF CREST *retro.* 29, La Grauf., A.D. 69-79 § (Déch. I, p. 81 and 83. Knorr, *Rottweil* 1907, p. 59, early Vespasian. Geissner, *Mainz*, nos. 506-522 ; also at Chester, Cirencester and *Silchester*, p. 216, pl. VIA, bowl 29. Lehner, *Novaesium*, 340, OF CRESTI (*retro.*) A.D. 40-105. Another form of his stamp, or that of another potter, OF CRESTIO, appears on bowls form 29 ; Déch. I, p. 268, no. 59. By style he is associated with the group of potters whose bowls 29 have been found at Pompeii, not later than A.D. 79).

(T.H. 1892, 134) CRICIROF (Criciro,-onis, more than one potter of this name), 18 ; Banassac or Lezoux, A.D. 70-140 (Déch. I, p. 118, 213, and p. 268, no. 60, on ornamented bowls with

* Found also at Wroxeter, Rep. 1912, p. 51, no. 40.—D.A.

† See also note to Albanus above.—D.A.

‡ Or [COTTA F] *retro.*, TTA indistinct.—D.A.

§ See note to Albanus above.—D.A.

medallions. *Vict. Co. Hist.* Leicester, p. 201, CRICIRONIS. Walters, *Cat.* M 1655, 1363, bowls 31 and 37. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 702 ; VII, 1336, 361 ; also at Wilderspool ; Corbridge, *Arch. Ael.* XII, 280, cup 27 ; Lincoln ; *Silchester*, p. 217, pl. XXVII, 84·; Trier, *Fölzer*, p. 70, pl. IX, fig. 6, A.D. 175-225. The style of the Trier potter is different from that of the Central Gaulish potter).

(O.M. 471) CRVCVROF (Crucuro ; this may be another form of the same (?) potter's stamp as the preceding ; Déch. I, p. 217), 33, Allier district, A.D. 69-79 (*Coll. Ant.* VI, p. 71. Knorr, *Rottweil* 1907, p. 60, pl. XI, 1, 2, probably of Banassac, time of Vespasian. Curle, *Newstead*, p. 228, early period, A.D. 80-100. Knorr, *Rottweil* 1912, p. 3, associated by style with a group of potters whose bowls 29, found at Pompeii, indicate a date before A.D. 79 ; " while," he adds, " their later works continue after 80 " and differ in style. Corbridge, *Arch. Ael.* XII, 280, bowl 31. Walters, *Cat.* M 1614, bowl 18 ; M 1705, bowl 33. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 713 ; VII, 1336, 375-7).

(R.F. 464) CVCALIM within an incised circle, ALI indistinct (Cucalus ?), 33 ; uncertain, probably Gaulish (Walters, *Cat.* M 1862, cup 27. *Vict. Co. Hist.* Leicester, p. 201, CVCILI . M. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 716 ; VII, 1336, 378 ; also at Cirencester and *Silchester*, p. 217, cup 27. *Archaeologia*, LXVI, p. 256, London, cup 33).

(T.H. 1892) no. **63** above. DIVIX·F (Divixtus), 37 ;

(74-14) no. **64** above. DIVIX·F, 37 ; and

(O.M. 47*a*-05) /IVIX·F, 37, figures in panels, style of Lezoux ; Lezoux, A.D. 140-180 (Déch. I, p. 198 and 269, ornamented bowls form 37 in panels. Curle, *Newstead*, p. 227, fig. 5, 228, 235, A.D. 140-180. Corbridge, *Arch. Ael.* V, 1908, p. 112 ; VIII, 1911, p. 56. Walters, *Cat.* M 1038, bowl 30 ; M 1153-4, bowls 37. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 791 ; 10011, 307 ; VII, 1336, 417-421 ; 1337, 27, 28 ; also at South Shields, Birrens, *Silchester*, p. 219, 220 ; one of a group of potters who migrated to Rheinzabern, *Ludowici* I, p. 29).

(304) no. **107** above. DOI[I]CV[S] (Doeccus), 31 ;

(18-17) no. **61** above. DOIICCI, from Papcastle, 37 ;

(R.F. 113) DOIICCVS, from Papcastle, 33 ;

(T.H. 1892) DOVIICCVS, 79 ; and

(O.M. 65) DOVIICCVS, from north ditch of Roman Wall near Stanwix, May, 1891, 31 ; Lezoux, A.D. 110-138 (Déch. I, p. 198, and p. 269 on ornamented bowls form 37, large medallions. Knorr, *Canstatt and Köngen* 1905, p. 15, pl. IV, figs. 1-9, with the

monogram ⅅ—two D's *adossés*, A.D. 110-180.* Walters, *Cat.* M 1038, bowl 30; M 1153-4, bowl 37; M 1657, bowl 31; M 1675, bowl 32. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 801, 804; 10011, 594; VII, 1336, 435; 1337, 28; also at Chester, Cirencester, Corbridge, Rough Castle N.B. *Wroxeter* I, p. 44, A.D. 110-120; *Silchester*, pl. XXVI, 43, 44, 46, 48, pp. 220, 221, principally in the time of Hadrian, A.D. 117-138). DOCCIVS is supposed to be another form of his stamp.

(T.H. 1892, 114) EBVRVS FEC (Eburus), 38/44; East Gaulish (*Bonn. Jahrb.* 99, 1896, p. 54, Heddernheim; Riese, *Frankf. Mitteil.* 6, 1881, p. 405. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 838, EBVRVS FEC, Heddernheim, A.D. 133-200). Not recorded previously in Britain.

(T.H. 1892, 102) /OF-FGE, broken off below (= OF FL[avi] GE[rmani), 27; and

(46-17) from Stanwix, OF-FACER (=OF FLA[vi] GER[mani]) 33; C.I.L. XIII, 10010, 306, late first and early second century, occurs in grave at Séron (Belgium) with South Gaulish stamps and coin of Hadrian (*Soc. Arch. de Namur*), three times at Friedberg (ORL, *Friedberg*, p. 34); Allier district (*Coll. Ant.* VI, p. 71); London (C.I.L. VII, 1336, 445), etc.—D.A.

(T.H. 108) OFRONTI (Frontinus), 18; La Grauf., A.D. 69-81 (Déch. I, p. 83, and p. 273 on ornamented bowls, form 29, FRONTO and FRONTINVS. Knorr, *Rottweil* 1907, p. 60, time of Vespasian and Domitian. Curle, *Newstead*, p. 228, early period, A.D. 80-100. Lehner, *Novaesium*, OF FRONTINI, A.D. 40-105. Riese, *Hedd. Mitteil.* IV, p. 20. Geissner, *Mainz*, 1904, nos. 663-8. Walters, *Cat.* M 289, bowl 29; M 648-650, bowl 18; M 804, cup 27; M 935, cup 33. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 920; 10011, 202; VII, 1336, 465-9; 1337, 35; also at Wilderspool, Chester, and Camelon N.B. on form 29; *Archaeologia* LXVI, pp. 239, 256, bowl 18, London, OFRONTI; Corbridge, *Arch. Ael.* XII, p. 280, OF FRONTINI).

(16-04) GERMA//// (Germanus) 27, and

(T.H. 1892, 91) GERMANIOF, 18, within a roulette-notched wreath; La Grauf., A.D. 69-79 (Déch. I, p. 81 and p. 273, no. 87 on ornamented bowls form 29, one of which, probably of Nero's reign, was found at Pompeii, before A.D. 79. Knorr, *Rottweil* 1907, p. 61, early Vespasian; *Rottenburg* 1910, p. 16. Ritterling, *Hofheim* 1912, time of Vespasian. Walters, *Cat.* M 651-2, bowl 18; M 805-6, cup 27; M 608, dish 16. *J.R.S.* IV, 1914, p. 31,

* This reference is to a potter (? not the Lezoux one) who worked at Blickweiler (Atkinson, *Excavations on Lowbury Hill, Berkshire*, p. 57f.)—D.A.

Pompeii, see no. **28**. Corbridge, *Arch. Ael.*, p. 281, cup 27. *Silchester*, p. 224. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 963; 10011, 205; VII, 1336, 487-490; also at Chester, Wilderspool and Cirencester). This potter's ornamented ware is widely distributed. Many of his types have been illustrated by Knorr and can be identified with certainty. A later potter of the name can be distinguished by the form of stamp, GERMANVS, GERMANF, found at Westerndorff. C.I.L. III, 6010, 97.

(O.M. 455) GLOSABINIM, within a large incised circle (Glosabinus?), 31. (Loeschcke, *Sammlung Niessen*, in Cologne, p. 70, GLOSAB·MA, no. 1173, 1198, GLOSABMA or GLOSABINIA; not in Corpus).

(61-17) HABILISF (Habilis), 31; and

(22-04) HABILIS·F, within a large incised circle; from Stanwix, 18/31, cf. 31; uncertain, probably Lezoux (Smith, *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* XXI, p. 279, fig. 10; XXII, p. 395, Silchester. Bowls made by Habilis resembling those found at Pudding Pan Rock, fig. 10, Drag. 31, are regarded as contemporary, A.D. 160-190; Knorr, *Rottweil*, 1907, p. 70. *Coll. Ant.* VI, p. 72. Corbridge, *Arch. Ael.* XII, p. 281; *Wroxeter* I, p. 53; *Silchester*, p. 224. Walters, *Cat.* M 1969, bowl 31; M 2104, cup 33. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 982; VII, 1336, 499-500; also at Cirencester.

(O.M. 478) IAKIANIM (Iulianus), 18; and

(8-03) IAKIANIM, 31; Banassac (Déch. I, 118, note 3, IVLIA; Knorr, *Rottenburg*, p. 70, bowl 18/31, IVLIANO; *id.*, *Rottweil* 1907, p. 63, IVLIANI, A.D. 69-79. *Ludowici* I, p. 43; III, p. 28f. IVLIANVS. C.I.L. III, 6010, 106, Westerndorff; XIII, iii, 10010, 1063, Rheinzabern, must be stamps of another potter).

(T.H. 1892, 121) IVLLIA (probably Iullinus), 18; Lezoux, A.D, 80-120 (Curle, *Newstead*, p. 237, early period. Lehner, *Novaesium*. A.D. 40-105. Smith, *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* XXII, p. 395, Herne Bay, A.D. 160-190. Walters, *Cat.*, M 1621, bowl 18; M 1718, cup 33. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 1083; VII, 1336, 530; also at *Silchester*, p. 227, bowl 31).

(O.M. 487) ↖LANCIV . F with fir-tree ornament (Lancius), 18; uncertain (C. R. Smith, *Cat. of London Antiq.*, p. 43, and *Celt, Roman and Saxon*, 1892, p. 545, LANCIV · ·).

(T.H. 1892, 103) LITTERA F (Littera?), 18/31 or 31; and

(O.M. 480) LITTERA within a roulette-notched wreath, 18/31; uncertain (Walters, *Cat.*, M 1972-3, bowls 31. *Bonn. Jahrb.* 99, 1896, p. 54, Waucennes only. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 1150; VII, 1336, 562; also at Cirencester, Wilderspool, *Silchester*, p. 229, cup 33; and *Wroxeter* II, p. 35).

(T.H. 1892, 136) LOGI/ (Logirnus), 18 ; La Grauf. and Montans (Déch. I, p. 84, p. 136 mould and p. 284, no. 111. Lehner, *Novaesium*, A.D. 40-105. Geissner, *Mainz*, nos. 794-802. Walters, *Cat.*, M 658-661, bowl 18 ; *Silchester*, p. 230, LOGIRNM . . bowl 18 ; *Wroveter* II, p. 35, no. 181, about A.D. 80-120. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 1152 ; VII, 1336, 566-7 ; also at Chester). At Corbridge in an early pit (Rep. 1909, p. 68).

(O.M. 483) MAGIOF (Magio,-onis), 31 ; Rheinzabern and Heddernheim (*Ludowici* III, p. 38, grave 118. Welcker, *Hedd. Mitteil.* IV, p. 152, found beside the potter's kiln, A.D. 133-200. Drexel, O.R.L. XXXIII, Stockstadt, p. 103. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 1224, MAGIOF, · MAGIONI ·, all in East Gaul and Germany).

(O.M. 479) MAIOR·I (Maior), 31 ; probably Lezoux (Herne Bay, Pudding Pan Rock, *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* XXII, p. 395, A.D. 160-190. Corbridge, *Arch. Ael.* XII, p. 281, MAIORI, MAIORIM. *Silchester*, p. 232, cup 33. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 1242, MAIORF, MAIORIS, etc. ; VII, 1336, 614-5).

(O.M. 470) MAMMI (Mammilius ?), 33 ;

(R.F. 66) MAMMI, 33, from Papcastle, and

(O.M. 114) MA///MI·V, from Papcastle ; Lezoux (Déch. I, p. 198, 284, bowl 37, style of metopes. Curle, *Newstead*, p. 237. Corbridge, *Arch. Ael.* V, p. 113, bowl 37 ; XII, p. 282, MAMMI, bowls 31-33. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 1252, MAMMI, etc. ; VII, 1336, 623, MAMM·OF ; also at Cirencester, Lancaster, Camelon N.B.).

(O.M. 463) MAMMILIANVS (Mammilianus), 37 ; Rheinzabern (*Ludowici* I, p. 50 ; III, p. 39. Forrer, *Heiligenberg*, p. 233 * ; this potter is also supposed to have worked here, A.D. 85-160. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 1250, Rottenburg and Osterburken, MAMMILIANVS. London, *Archaeologia* LXVI, p. 239, MAMMIKIANVS, bowl 37 †). Only two other British examples.

(O.M. 457) MARCELLIVS, within a roulette-notched wreath (Marcellius), 31 ? ; Rheinzabern, Ittenweiler and Lavoye (*Forrer*, p. 238, A.D. 102-130. *Ludowici* III, p. 40. Walters, *Cat.*, M 1879-1880, cup 27 ; M 2126-9, cup 33, MARCELLVS. Curle, *Newstead*, p. 237, MARCELLI·M, later period, A.D. 140-180. Geissner, *Mainz*, nos. 889-890, MARCELLIVS ; nos. 891-4, MARCELLVS. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 1265, MARCELLIVS 1266, MARCELLVS ; VII, 1336, 630, York, MARCELLIVS ; 631-4,

* Doubtful if the same potter—MAMMIIIW.—D.A.

† And on rim of bowl 37 at Corbridge (not recorded in *Arch. Ael.*).—D.A.

MARCELLVS; also at Chester, Wilderspool and Lancaster, *Silchester*, p. 233). The stamp MARCELLVS, which may be one of the same potter, occurs more frequently. Later it appears at Westerndorf (C.I.L. III, 6010, 130) where the potteries were at work in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, and only for a short period (Knorr, *Rottenburg* 1910, p. 8).

(O.M. 469) MARTIALIS, within a roulette-notched wreath (Martialis), 31; La Grauf., A.D. 75-125 (Déch. I, p. 84, MARTIALIS OF, MARTIALISM. At Rheinzabern stamps MARTIALIS F and MARTIALFE occur with coins of Pius, A.D. 138-161, and with a bowl of Cinnamus, *Ludowici* III, p. 42; I, p. 52. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 1282; VII, 1336, 654-5, Cirencester, Corbridge, *Arch. Ael.* XII, p. 282, MARTIALIS, bowl 31; *Silchester*, p. 234, MARTIALISFEC, bowl 29; *Wroxeter* IV, p. 47. Riese, *Hedd. Mitteil.* IV, p. 20, records seven examples in Praunheim grave field, A.D. 90-150. Lehner, *Novaesium*, p. 342, A.D. 40-105. Ritterling, O.R.L. XXXI, *Wiesbaden*, p. 108, records MARTIALFE, A.D. 75-125. Barthel, O.R.L. XXXII, *Zugmantel*, p. 112, ascribes MARTIALIS to an East Gaulish potter of about the middle of the second century). The recorded examples seem to be stamps of two potters of the same name or of a migratory potter who worked at La Grauf. and afterwards at Rheinzabern.

(R.F. 94) MARTIVSF (Martius), from Carlisle gaol, 31; uncertain (Déch. I, p. 213, 214, 285, bowl 37, style of large medallions. Ittenweiler, *Forrer*, p. 239, A.D. 102-130. Rheinzabern, *Ludowici* III, p. 42, MARTIVSF. Corbridge, *Arch. Ael.* XII, p. 282, MARTIIO, MARTIM, MARTIVSF, MARTIVSM, *Silchester*, p. 235, MARTIM. *Wroxeter* I, p. 55, no. 74, MARTIIO; no. 75, MARTI·M. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 1286, MARTIVS; 10011, 232 ornamented; VII, 1336, 660-3; also at Cirencester, Colchester, Chester, South Shields.

(R.F. 111) MASC////OFE (Mascellio), from Papcastle, 33; Rheinzabern (*Ludowici* I, p. 54; III, p. 42, MASCELLIOF. Smith, *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* XXII, p. 395, Pudding Pan Rock, A.D. 160-190. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 1293; VII, 1336, 665, Cirencester MASCIILLI·O. Geissner, *Mainz*, 1904, no. 954).

(R.F. 1892, 91) MEDETIM (first M visible but not clear) on plate used as cover of a cinerary urn from site of Carlisle castle, 1892 (Medetius), 18; uncertain (Walters, *Cat.*, M 1783-6, bowl 18; M 2135, cup 33, if there read correctly. Geissner, *Mainz*, 1904, nos. 395-6, bowl 31. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 1327, MEDETIM, MEDETI·M, MEDETI·M (the last with a small D); VII, 1336, 689; also at Colchester, Cirencester, Corbridge, *Arch.*

Ael. XII, p. 282, bowl 31 ; Chichester, Brighton Mus., MEDE-TI·M (with small D *).

(R.F. 94*a*) MICCIVSF, (Miccius) (C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 1356, MICCIVSF, MICCIFEC, MICCIƎEC (F inverted) ; 1355, MICCIO·F, Curle, *Newstead* p. 238, records M[ICCI]O·F as found in the later period, A.D. 140-180, and referred to early second century. This may be the stamp of the same or another potter who worked at Heiligenberg and Rheinzabern, found at *Silchester*, p. 239).

(O.M. 115) MOGIDI MA (Mogidius ?), from Papcastle, 33 ; uncertain fabric.

(T.H. 1892, 113))MON (name doubtful), 27 ; La Grauf. (Déch. I, p. 84, OF·MON·O. C.I.L. VII, 1336, 725, OMON. Knorr, *Aislingen*, p. 58, OMON or possibly MOMO, A.D. 54-79).

(47-17) OMOVMO (Mommo ?), 18 † ; (Déch. I, p. 84, OFMOMM ; p. 89, MOMO, MOMMO, OMO, OF MOMMO, etc., stamp of a potter of La Grauf. found at London, Colchester, Corbridge, *Silchester*, p. 239 ; *Wroxeter* I, p. 55, no. 78 ; also at Pompeii, A.D. 77-79).

(T.H. 1892, 96) OFMONTANF (Montanus), 18 ; La Grauf., A.D. 69-79‡ (Déch. I, p. 84. Knorr, *Rottweil* 1907, p. 64, probably time of Vespasian, A.D. 69-79. Lehner, *Novaesium*, A.D. 40-105. *Vict. Co. Hist.* Leicester, p. 201, OFMONTANI. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 1382 ; VII, 1336, 728-9 ; also at Cirencester, *Silchester*, p. 239, Corbridge, *Arch. Ael.* XII, p. 283. Barthel, O.R.L. XXXII, *Zugmantel*, p. 112, records the stamp MONTANVS as probably that of a potter who worked at Heiligenberg, A.D. 121-233. Forrer, *Heiligenberg*, p. 234, records the stamp of MONTANVS as found among the waste from the kilns uncovered there. This is of much later date and probably that of another potter).

(48-17) MOXSIM (Moxius or Moxsius), 33 ; Lezoux, A.D. 117-138 (Déch. I, p. 198, and 288 part of mould for ornamented bowl. Knorr, *Rottweil* 1907, p. 64, time of Vespasian. *Ann. Namur* IV, p. 90, with coins of Hadrian, A.D. 117-138. Geissner, *Mainz* 1904, nos. 1083-6. Walters, *Cat.*, M 1662, bowl 31. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 1391 ; VII, 1336, 735-8 ; also at Cirencester ; Chester, MOXSIVS [graffito] ; Lincoln, MOXI . . . ; Colchester, MOSS . . ; Corbridge, *Arch. Ael.* XII, MOSSI·M, bowl 38, etc. ; *Silchester*, p. 240, MOXSIM, MOSSI·F, cups 27, 33).

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* A late 29 of him at Kettering, etc., indicates perhaps early second century.—D.A.

† Form of stamp unparalleled. If Mommo, the date is *c.* 30-80.—D.A.

‡ Active also under Claudius and Nero, A.D. 40-68.—D.A.

(T.H. 1892, 105) NICEPHOR·F/ (Nicephorus), 18 or 15/31;
(T.H. 1892, 131) NIC/, 18 or 15/31;
(T.H. 1892, 124) NIC/, 18 or 31; at Heddernheim in a grave-deposit? A.D. 25-105. (Lehner, *Novaesium*, cup 27, A.D. 40-105. *Bonn. Jahrb.* 99, 1896, p. 54, Heddernheim. Walters, *Cat.*, M 1788, bowl 18; M 2140, cup 33. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 1426; VII, 1336, 757-8; also at Cirencester, Chester, Wilderspool, Lancaster and Corbridge, *Arch. Ael.* VIII, 1911, pp. 45-6, fig. 9, no. 116; XII, p. 283, NICEPHOR·F; *Wroxeter* I, p. 56, NICEPHOR F, bowl 18, about end of first century; *Silchester*, p. 241, cup 27, bowl 18/31).

(T.H. 1892, 110) no. **17** above. NIGRINI (Nigrinus), 29; Gaulish, A.D. 69-79 (Knorr, *Rottweil* 1907, p. 64, time of Vespasian. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 1431; Perigueux, Moind, Le Manse [Clermont Museum] NIGRINI; VII, 760 *).

(25-04) O/BIMAI:· (Osbimanus), from Stanwix Bank, 33; and
(O.M. 461) /SBIMAI, 31; uncertain, probably Gaulish (Walters, *Cat.*, M 1985, bowl 31; M 2142, cup 33. *Coll. Antiq.* I, p. 153. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 1475, OSBI·MAN, OSB·IMAI; VII, 1336, 771; also at Cirencester, Lincoln, Corbridge, *Arch. Ael.* XII, p. 283, OSBIMAN or OSBIMAI, OSBI—+. *Silchester*, p. 242, OSBIMANVS. *Wroxeter* 1912, p. 56, no. 82).

(T.H. 1892, 97) OF PASSENI, SS reversed (Passenus), 29;
(T.H. 1892-213) OF PASSENI, SS reversed, 29; and
(T.H. 1892, 106) no. **11** above. OF////SEN, S reversed, 29, La Grauf., A.D. 40-80 (Déch I, p. 288, on ornamented bowls form 29. Knorr, *Rottweil* 1907, p. 68, PASSIE; *id.*, *Aislingen*, p. 59, OF PASSENI, A.D. 54-79. Walters, *Cat.*, M 210, 352, 384, bowls 29, etc. Ritterling, *Hofheim* 1912, p. 246, A.D. 40-83. Lehner, *Novaesium*, A.D. 40-105. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 1494; VII, 1336, 776-781; also Lancaster, London, *Archaeologia*, LXVI, pp. 239, 256, 268, forms 15, 18, 27, first century. *Silchester*, p. 243, PASSENI·M, OF PASSIEN).

(O.M. 474) PATERCLOSFE, 18 or 18/31 (same as Paterclus, with Gaulish ending).

(T.H. 1892, 116) PATERCI—, within an incised circle, 27; Allier district, Gaulish (*Coll. Ant.* VI, p. 71, PATERCLVS and PATERCLIN. Lehner, *Novaesium*, A.D. 40-105, PATERCLOSI. Walters, *Cat.*, PATERCLOS, M 1790-5, bowl 18; M 1890, cup 27; PATERCLINVS, M 1986-7, bowl 31; M 2023, bowl 32; M 2223, bowl 44. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 1504d[4]; VII, 1336,

* But it is difficult to distinguish Nigri and Nigrini.—D.A.

790-4, PATERCLINVS and PATERCLVS. *Wroxeter* I, p. 56, no. 18, PATERCLOS FE, probably end of first century. *Silchester*, p. 244, PATERCΓI, graffito, bowl 37, pl. XXVI, no. 42, and bowl 18, PATERCLOS FE. Geissner, *Mainz* 1907, nos. 1175-7, PATERCLVS. *Vict. Co. Hist.* Leicester, p. 201, PATERCLO[S]FE ; also at Colchester and Cirencester. Paterclinus appears to be a potter of later date than Paterclus).

(T.H. 1892, 93) PATRICIVS/ (Patricius), 38/44, and

(R.F. 1892, 82) OFPATRIC, matt glaze from near Haltwhistle, 18 ; La Grauf., A.D. 69-79 * (Déch. I, p. 81 and p. 294 on ornamented bowls form 29. Knorr, *Rottweil* 1907, time of Vespasian. *Vict. Co. Hist.* Leicester, p. 201. Curle, *Newstead*, p. 238, PATRICIVS·F, PAT/. Walters, *Cat.* gives fourteen London examples. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 1511 ; VII, 1336, 806-811 ; also at Colchester, Cirencester, Holt, Chester, Wilderspool, and Corbridge, *Arch. Ael.* XII, p. 283. Lehner, *Novaesium*, five examples, A.D. 25-105. Atkinson, *Jl. of Roman Studies* IV, 1914, p. 34, Pompeii, probably worked A.D. 60-80 or 85. *Silchester*, p. 246, contemporary of COTOVS, MOMMO, VITALIS, forms 15, 16, 18, 27, 29, 33). The stamp occurs often and varies, being contracted to PATRIC, PATRC or PATR.

(O.M. 453) PECVLIAR·F (Peculiaris), 33 ; East Gaulish, A.D. 117-161 ? (Drexel, O.R.L. XXXIII, *Stockstadt*, p. 104, time of Hadrian—Antoninus, A.D. 117-161. Curle, *Newstead*, pp. 228, 238, later period, A.D. 140-180. Geissner, *Mainz* 1907, nos. 1225-1239. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 1521 ; VII, 1336, 822-4 ; also at Cirencester, Chester, Wilderspool, Camelon and Bar Hill N.B. Walters, *Cat.*, six examples in London. Corbridge, *Arch. Ael.* XII, p. 283. London, *Archaeologia* LXVI, p. 256, second century. *Silchester*, p. 247. *Wroxeter* I, p. 57, no. 89, probably A.D. 117-161).

(T.H. 1892, 137) OF·PO////, with a dot in the O (Pontus or Pontius), 29 ; and

(T.H. 1892, 101) OF·PONTI, 18 ; La Grauf., first century (Déch. I, p. 81, 84, and p. 294 on an ornamented bowl 29. Lehner, *Novaesium*, A.D. 40-105. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 1545 ; VII, 1336, 837-8 ; also at Cirencester. Walters, *Cat.*, M 707-710, bowl 18 ; M 859-865, cup 27 ; M 957, cup 33. *Vict. Co. Hist.* Leicester, p. 201, OFPONTI. Geissner, *Mainz*, 1907, nos. 1275-1281.

(49-17) POIIINI·M † (Potitianus), 31 ; La Grauf. ? (Déch. I,

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* Two potters of this name ; one, late first, the other, second century.—D.A.

† Or POIIIWI·M (reading uncertain).—D.A.

84, POTITIAA Walters, *Cat.*, M 1804, POTITINI·M, and M 1991, POTITIAÑI. *Wroxeter* II, p. 38, no. 204, POTITIAÑIM. *Silchester*, p. 248, POTITINI·M. Corbridge, *Arch. Ael.* XII, p. 284, POTITINI, POTITIANI, PO·TITIAÑI. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 1553, POTITINI·M; VII, 1386, 841, POTITIÂNI·M; 842, POTITIAN·M; also at Cirencester POTITIAN·M; Birrens, POTITIANVS).

(T.H. 1892, 89) PRIAAIFE within a roulette-notched wreath (Primus); flat base (C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 1569, *u*², PRIMIFE, here recorded as stamp of PRIMVS. It is of unusual and ungrammatical form. The stamp of a South Gaulish potter Primus occurs frequently and belongs to the period A.D. 40-83. *Silchester*, p. 249. The stamp of a later potter PRI·MVSF occurs after A.D. 190).

(50-17) PRISCINI·M within an incised circle (Priscinus), 33; uncertain (*Silchester*, p. 250, PRISCINVSFC, bowl 18; .PRISCINIM, cup 33. *Wroxeter* I, p. 58, PRISCINI. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 1574; VII, 1336, 869, PRISCINIM.

(O.M. 462) PVGNIM (Pugnius), 31; La Grauf., A.D. 69-79 (Déch. I, p. 84. Knorr, *Rottweil* 1907, p. 65, time of Vespasian. Barthel, O.R.L. XXXII, *Zugmantel*. Giessner, *Mainz* 1907, nos. 1355-6. Walters, *Cat.*, M 924, bowl 31; M 958-9, cup 33. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 1591; VII, 1336, 878; also at Chester, Camelon N.B., Corbridge, *Arch. Ael.* XII, p. 284, PVGNIMA, forms 27, 33. *Wroxeter* II, p. 38, no. 207, cup 33.

(R.F. 121) REBVRRIꝏI·, last three letters doubtful (Reburrius), 33; South Gaulish, A.D. 140-190. (*Silchester*, p. 251, REBVRRIꝏOF, with heart-shaped or ivy-leaf stop. *Wroxeter* I, no. 96, A.D. 140-190. Corbridge, *Arch. Ael.* XII, p. 284, forms 31, 33. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 1614; VII, 1336, 895-7; also at Cirencester, Chester, Manchester.

(T.H. 1892, 88) REGA//////S//// (Regalis), 18/31 or 31; Rheinzabern, A.D. 140-180 (*Ludowici* I, p. 67; III, p. 154, 157, 178, with Antonine coins. Curle, *Newstead*, pp. 228, 239, later period, A.D. 140-180. Geissner, *Mainz*, 1907, nos. 1369-1371. Walters, *Cat.*, M 1996, bowl 31; M 2163, cup 33. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 1616; VII, 1336, 901-3. Corbridge, *Arch. Ael.* XII, p. 284. *Wroxeter* I, p. 58, no. 98, RIIGALI. *Silchester*, p. 252, RIIGALI, cup 33; also Richborough and Colchester).

(51-17) RVFFI·N/ (Ruffus), 27; La Grauf.? but occurs A.D. 140-180 (Déch. I, p. 84 Curle, *Newstead*, p. 240, RVFFIMÂ, probably Antonine, A.D. 140-180. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 1657; also at Cappuck. London, *Archaeologia* LXVI, p. 239, RUFFI·MA,

forms 27, 33. *Silchester*, p. 253, RVHHI·M, and *Wroxeter* IV, p. 49, RVFFI·M).

(T.H. 1892, 90) OFRVFINI (Rufinus), 29;

(10-17) no. **16** above. OFRV/, 29;

(T.H. 1892, 126) OFRVF, 27; Montans (Déch. I, p. 136);

(T.H. 1892, 132) OF·RVF/, 27; and

(T.H. 1892, 127) OFRV/, 27; La Grauf., A.D. 69-79 (Déch. I, p. 84. Knorr, *Rottweil* 1907, p. 65, time of Vespasian. Curle, *Newstead*, pp. 228, 240, on ornamented bowl 29, early period, A.D. 80-100. Walters, *Cat.*, M 389-392, bowl 29, OFRVFINI, etc. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 1659; VII, 1336, 935-940; also at Colchester, Chester, Manchester, Camelon, London, *Archaeologia* LXVI, p. 268; Corbridge, *Arch. Ael.* XII, p. 285; *Silchester*, p. 253. Atkinson, *J.R.S.*, 1914, p. 31, Pompeii, A.D. 77-79).

(25-04) SABEKKVS, SS reversed (Sabellus), 33, from Stanwix Bank; area of distribution East Gaulish or Upper German (*Bonn, Jahrb.* 111/2, *Novaesium*, SABELLVS*; *id.* 114/5, Alteburg, SABELLVS*; *id.* 99, Saalburg, SABEKKVSF, cup 27; Juslenville, SABELLV, initial S reversed, *Samm. Niessen* at Cologne, nos. 1249-50, SABELLI *retro.* bowl 18/31; SABELLVS, last S reversed, cup 33. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 1680; VII, 1336, 948-50; also at South Shields).

(R.F. 1892, 100) OFSAB (Sabinus) used as an urn-cover, from site of Carlisle gaol, 18; La Grauf., c.A.D. 79 (Déch. I, pp. 84, 297, bowl 29, two similar found at Pompeii, A.D. 79. Curle, *Newstead*, p. 240, OFSAB, form 15, A.D. 80-100. Walters, *Cat.*, M 880, OFFSAB. Atkinson, *Jl. of Rom. Studies* IV, 1914, p. 31, Pompeii, A.D. 77-79. Corbridge, *Arch. Ael.* XII, p. 285, cup 33. *Wroxeter* I, p. 59, no. 103, bowl 31, A.D. 80-110. London, *Archaeologia* LXVI, p. 268. *Silchester*, p. 254, OFSABI, form 24/25. *Wroxeter* IV, p. 42, A.D. 80-120. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 1682, OF·SAB, etc.; XV, 5541, at Rome; VII, 1336, 956-9; also at Cirencester and Leicester). From the number and distribution of the stamps of Sabinus, a migratory potter or more than one potter may be inferred. SABNIIM occurs on a mould for bowls in medallion style at Lezoux, Déch. I, pp. 199, 297; SABINVS FII (N reversed) in rude lettering on late form 32 at Rheinzabern, *Ludowici* III, p. 60.

(R.F. 179) SATVRNĨNI ŌF (Saturninus), 33; Lezoux, about middle of second century (Déch. I, p. 199 and p. 298 on ornamented bowls, form 37, in the late style of medallions. R. A.

* Initial S reversed.

Smith, *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* XXII, p. 395, Pudding Pan Rock, A.D. 160-190. *Bonn. Jahrb.* 99, 1896, p. 54, SATVRNNI at Elouges. Walters, *Cat.*, M 1669-1673, bowl 31, M 1740-2, cup 33. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 1736; VII, 1336, 990-4; also at Colchester, Cirencester, South Shields, Eatington Park, Corbridge, *Arch. Ael.* XII, p. 285, forms 31, 33; *Silchester*, p. 256, cup 33; *Wroxeter* I, p. 60).

(O.M. 452) SAXAMI·M (Saxamus), 33; and

(O.M. 70) SAXA within a roulette-notched wreath, 31 (*Silchester*, p. 257, SAXAMI·M, cup 33; ////AXAMI, cup 33. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 1737, Anthée only, SAXAMI·M).

(R.F. 1892, 118) SCOTNI (Scotnus or Scotius), 27; La Grauf., A.D. 40-83 (Déch. I, p. 84-5, SCOT FECI, SCOTII OF, SCOTIIM, SCOTIVS and SCOTTI M. Lehner, *Novaesium*, SCOTNS, A.D. 40-105. Poppelreuter and Hagen, *Bonn. Jahrb.* 114/5, p. 387, pl. XXI*e*, cup 24, SCOTI, about A.D. 50. Colchester *Mus. Cat.*, Joslin Collection, grave 68, pl. 15, SCOTNS. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 1746, SCOTNVS. Geissner, *Mainz Mus.* 1902, p. 15, nos. 249, 250, SCOTIVS and SCOTTIVS, are referred to the Augustan period. *Silchester*, p. 257, SCOTNS, SCOTIVS, SCOTVS, SCOTTIM, A.D. 40-83, early forms). The stamps numbered separately in the Corpus (XIII, 10010) 1744 SCOTF, 1745 SCOTIVS, 1746 SCOTNVS, 1747 SCOTO AVOTO (Gaulish form) and 1748 SCOTTIVS probably belong to one potter, as four of them occur at La Grauf. at an early period.

(T.H. 1892, 99) ////ECVNDI (Secundus), 27;

(T.H. 1892, 120) SECVNDI, 27;

(T.H. 1892, 112) ////CVNDI (D reversed), 27; La Grauf., A.D. 40-85 (Déch. I, p. 85 and p. 299, on ornamented bowls 29 and 37. Curle, *Newstead*, pp. 228, 240, early period, A.D. 80-120. Ritterling, *Hofheim*, A.D. 40-50. Knorr, *Rottweil* 1907, pp. 65, 66, early Vespasian, OFSECVN, SECVND; *id. Aislingen*, p. 63, SECVND, early first century. Lehner, *Novaesium*, A.D. 40-105. Walters, *Cat.*, M 394 ornamented bowl 29, etc. Geissner, *Mainz*, nos. 1526-1554. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 1764; VII, 1336, 1009; also at Colchester, Cirencester, Corbridge, *Arch. Ael.* XII, p. 285, SECVND·M; *Silchester*, p. 258, SECVN·D, bowl 18, before A.D. 70). Stamps of SECVNDVS in various forms occur in the potteries of both Southern (La Grauf.) and Central Gaul (Lezoux). See below.

(O.M. 466) SECVNDVS·F (Secundus), 33; Lezoux (Déch. I, p. 199, two moulds and p. 299, no. 174, 2, mould of ornamented bowl 37 with stamp SECVNDVSF. Walters, *Cat.*, M 926, bowl

31, M 2243, bowl 81? C.I.L. VII, 1336, 1010-1; London, *Archaeologia* LXVI, p. 239, bowl 18/31). May be the same potter as the preceding that worked at Lezoux at a later date.

(T.H. 363) SEDATI·M (Sedatus), from Appleby, 33; Lezoux, (Déch. I, p. 153); Heiligenberg (*Forrer*, p. 235, SEDATVS, A.D. 85-160); Ittenweiler (*ibid.*, p. 239, SEDATVSF, A.D. 102-130); Rheinzabern, (*Ludowici* I, p. 72; III, p. 61, SEDATVSF. Knorr, *Rottweil* 1907, p. 59; *Rottenburg*, p. 26, calls him contemporary of Comitialis, both of middle second century. *Silchester*, p. 258; Corbridge, *Arch. Ael.* XII, p. 285. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 1769; VII, 1336, 1019-21; also at Lancaster and Wroxeter).

(R.F. 116) SENILA·F (Senila), 27; and

(52-17) SENILA . F, 33; place uncertain, A.D. 140-180 (Curle, *Newstead*, pp. 228, 241, later period, Antonine, SENILAM. Walters, *Cat.*, M 2169-2170. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 1778, SENILA·F; VII, 1336, 1030*f*, SENILA; also at Lincoln, South Shields, Corbridge, *Arch. Ael.* XII, 285, cup 33; *Silchester*, p. 259, SENILAM, SENIL·A·M, SENIIAM).

(O.M. 465) SIIVIIRI·OF (Severus), 31; La Grauf., A.D. 69-96 also 140-180 (Déch. I, p. 85, various forms of stamp from OSEVE to SIIVIIRIO and SEVERVS FEC. Curle, *Newstead*, p. 241, in the aerly period, A.D. 80-100, OSEVER, and probably in the later period, A.D. 140-180, SEVERV·S. Knorr, *Rottweil.* 1907, p. 66, early Vespasian. Walters, *Cat.*, M 735-741, bowl 18; M 889-896, cup 27). Working also at Rheinzabern (*Ludowici* I, SEVERVS. V. T. I.; III, SIIVIIRVSFII). Also at Westerndorf (C.I.L. III, 6010, 208; Barthel, O.R.L. XXXII, *Zugmantel*, SEVERVSFEC, A.D. 117-249. Walters, *Cat.*, M 967-8, SIIVIIRIM. *Wroxeter* I, p. 60, no. 112, A.D. 80-120; London, *Archaeologia* LXVI, p. 239, 256, 268; Corbridge, *Arch. Ael.* XII, p. 285, SIIVIIR/; *Silchester*, p. 260, twelve examples of both periods). During the earlier period Severus worked at La Grauf. his stamp being in the genitive with O or M; at the later period another potter of the name, who used the nominative with F. appeared at Rheinzabern and migrated thence to Westerndorf,

(T.H. 1892, 138) /SILVINI (Silvinus, probably two potters of the name), 18; and

(T.H. 1892, 98) OF SILVINI, 27; La Grauf., A.D. 69-79 (Déch. I, p. 85. Knorr, *Rottweil* 1907, p. 66, time of Vespasian. Walters, *Cat.*, M 743-7, bowl 18; M 972, cup 33. Lehner, *Novaesium*, A.D. 40-105. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 1814; VII, 1336, 1869-1875 *; also at Leicester, Cirencester, Wilderspool, *Wroxeter* I,

* OF SILVINI, cellar at Bregenz, A.D. 80-110.—D.A.

p. 61, probably A.D. 110-130; Corbridge, *Arch. Ael.* XII, p. 285, forms 27, 31; *Silchester*, p. 262, SILVINI, cup 27, etc. Barthel, O.R.L. XXXII, *Zugmantel*, p.112, records the stamp SILVINVS·FE as probably that of an Eastern Gaulish potter of the time of Hadrian and Antoninus, A.D. 117-161. Forrer, Heiligenberg, p. 235, gives SILVINI as one of those from the kilns discovered there *).

(T.H. 1892, 94) SVOBNA (Suobnillus?), 18/31 or 31; Allier district, A.D. 140-180 (*Collect. Antiq.* VI, p. 71, SVOBNEDO. Curle, *Newstead*, pp. 228, 241, later period, SVOBNI·M. *Vict. Co. Hist.* Leicester, p. 201, SVOBNI·M. Walters, *Cat.*, M 1898 cup 27; M 2178, cup 33. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 1856, SVOBNILLI·M, SVOBNIL, etc.; VII, 1336, 1097, SVOBNILII; also at Camelon, Cirencester, London, *Archaeologia* LXVI, p. 239, SVOBNI·M, bowl 31; *Silchester*, p. 263).

(T.H. 1892, 118) TAVRICI OF (Tauricus), 33;

(R.F. 116) TAVRICIF in a frame, 33; and

(55-17) TAVRI/; Rheinzabern (*Ludowici* I, p. 77; II, p. 284. Barthel, O.R.L. XXXII, *Zugmantel*, [TAV]RICVS. Knorr, *Rottweil*, 1907, p. 68, A.D. 75-150. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 1894; VII, 1336, 1110-1; also at Colchester, Corbridge, *Arch. Ael.* XII, p. 286; *Wroxeter* I, p. 62, no. 121, bowl 31; *Silchester*, p. 263).

(O.M. 73) TITTIMA (Tittius), 31; Allier district, A.D. 140-180 (*Coll. Ant.* VI, p. 71. Curle, *Newstead*, pp. 228, 241, TITTIVSF, later period, A.D. 140-180. Walters, *Cat.*, M 2187, TITTIVS, cup 33. *Vict. Co. Hist.* Leicester, p. 202, TITIM. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 1914; VII, 1336, 1128; also at Manchester, South Shields, Colchester, Corbridge, *Arch. Ael.* XII, p. 286, TITTIM, cup 33. *Silchester*, p. 264, TITIVS; *Wroxeter* II, p. 39, no. 215, TITTIVS, A.D. 80-120, may be stamps of the same potter.

(φ 1892-92) TITVRONISOF, with dots in the O's (Tituro), 38/44, found on site of Cocoa Rooms, Victoria Viaduct, 1889; and

(O.M. 53-17) TITVRONISO/, with dots in the O's, 38/44, found in Carlisle; Allier district, A.D. 150-200 (*Coll. Ant.* VI, p. 74. *Vict. Co. Hist.* Leicester, p. 202. Walters, *Cat.*, M 1814, bowl 18; M 2188-2190, cup 33, and p. 361, cup 80. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 1916; VII, 1336, 1131-1133; also at Cirencester, Caerwent, Chester, Wilderspool, *Wroxeter* I, p. 62, no. 124, TITVRONIS; *Silchester*, p. 264). A cup 80, recorded by Walters, *Cat.*, M 2188, appears to be a late second-century type. See R. A. Smith, *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* XXII, p. 395, Caerwent, form 3.

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* Only as a maker of bricks.—D.A.

(O.M. 476) IOCCIVS (Toccius), 33; Lavoye, early second century, probably time of Hadrian, A.D. 117-138 (Barthel, O.R.L. XXXIII, *Stockstadt*, p. 112, potter of Eastern Gaul—Lavoye—of early second century, TOCCIVS, in a frame. Geissner, *Mainz* 1907, nos. 1689-1692. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 1923.)

(R.F. 75) VAREDVKATIP within a roulette-notched wreath (Varedu fatir; *Varedu* and *Varedos* is a potter's name; *fatip* is probably akin to *avvot*="fecit," or to "pater"); place uncertain (*Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* XXX, Birrens, VAREDVFATIP. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 1975, VARIIDOFEC, VARIIDOKII, VAREIDOFEC).

(T.H. 218) OF VIRTVTIS (Virtus,-tutis), 29;

(T.H. 1892, 111) OF·VRTV, 18; and

(T.H. 219) VRT·VIIC/, 27; La Grauf., A.D. 69-79* (Déch. I, p. 85. The stamp occurs as VRT and also as VIRTIIVS FEC. Knorr, *Rottweil* 1907, p. 67, early Vespasian, and pl. I, fig. 11, on part of ornamental bowl 29, OFVIRTVTIS. Ritterling, *Hofheim.* 1912, p. 247, A.D. 70-83; Lehner, *Novaesium*, A.D. 40-105. Walters, *Cat.*, M 761-2, bowl 18; M 904, cup 27; M 613, pl. 17. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 2060; VII, 1336, 1189-1194; also at Cirencester, Corbridge, *Arch. Ael.* XII, p. 286; *Wroxeter* I, p. 63, no. 131, A.D. 80-110; *Silchester*, p. 268.

(T.H. 1892, 100) OF·VITA in a frame, a dot in the O (Vitalis), 18; La Grauf., A.D. 69-96* (Déch. I, p. 81, 85; the stamps numerous and varied from OFVIT to VITALIS FECIT; and p. 303, ornamented bowls form 29 in Rome, Carthage and London. Knorr, *Rottweil* 1907, p. 67, early Vespasian. Curle, *Newstead*, pp. 228, 242, earlier period, A.D. 80-100. Ritterling, *Hofheim*, p. 247, A.D. 70-83. Lehner, *Novaesium*, A.D. 40-105. Geissner, *Mainz*, nos. 1788-1855, sixty-eight examples. Atkinson, *Jl. of Rom. Studies* IV, p. 32, Pompeii, A.D. 77-79; Corbridge, *Arch. Ael.* XII, p. 286; *Wroxeter* I, p. 63, no. 132, A.D. 80-120; *Silchester*, p. 269. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 2062; VII, 1336, 1198-1213, fifteen British examples; also at Colchester, Cirencester, Chester, Wilderspool. Barthel, O.R.L. XXXII, *Zugmantel*, p. 112*ff.*; the stamp—VITALIS—here found is recorded as not one of a La Grauf. potter. Welcker, *Hedd. Mitteil.* IV, p. 154; the stamp VITALIS, which occurs in great numbers among the potters' waste from the kilns at Heddernheim, is not identical with any in the Corpus. The kilns were at work here from about A.D. 133 to 200.

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* See note on Albanus above.—D.A.

(T.H. 1892, 36) VOGENE within an incised circle, 27; uncertain (Corbridge, *Arch. Ael.* XII, p. 286. C.I.L. XIII, iii, 10010, 2079, Vechten and [Leiden Mus.]). Walters, M 2205, cup 33, from Bayford, Kent.

INCOMPLETE AND UNCERTAIN STAMPS.

(T.H. 1892, 133) A\, 27.
(T.H. 1892, 128) /ECIT, 27.
(T.H. 1892, 123) /-F, 27.
(T.H. 1892, 130) /SFE, S reversed, 18.
(T.H. 1892, 135) OFA/, 27. (OFA[LBANI] ?).
(T.H. 1892, 87) Rosette stamp of six petals, 18/31.
(T.H. 1892, 122) IOINIO, 27. (OFNICI ?).
(O.M. 475) MOR·M, 27 (ME]MOR·M ?).
(O.M. 459) KVINI, 31 (SI]LVINI ?).
(O.M. 458) \II·M, 31 within a roulette-notched ring.
(1892, 220) \WTINIMI, 31. (VALE]NTINIMI ?).
(O.M. 464) /INI·M, 33.
(56-17) /\ CAPA . F, 33 ([A]CAPA·F).
(R.F. 57) *VATICONIS∫IA* graffito on underbase (VATICONISSA ? final SA doubtful). Devonshire Street, Carlisle, Aug., 1863 (*Arch. Journ.* XXI, p. 88).
(57-17) —I·ENGILNI
(R.F. 1892, 119) IIXIIX in a panel, 33. (EXEX ?).
(O.M. 30) Ring bearing seven pellets, with a pellet in the centre, 33.
(R.F. 1892, 104) IVVIIA in frame, 18.
(58-17) AEAFCHN, 18.
(O.M. 467) TO////////Γ or IO.
(O.M. 485) AIIAIA, 33, (ATIANIM ?).
(O.M. 454) \ITI·MA.
(O.M. 529) IC'////M, 31.
(O.M. 78) AIV/IV in frame, 27.
(R.F. 114) AAA..MI, 33.
(O.M. 472) VIAIIV in frame, 33
(59-17) ƆAHIV in frame, 27
(7A, 07) MAY, 31 (MAI[ORIS·M ?)
(8-03) IIVCCAIAI or IIVCCAIW, 31. (MACCALI ?)
(7A-07)/CCILLIN/, 31 (CV]CCILLM)
(28-04, Stanwix Bank) /SVS·F, 18/31.
(R.F. 1892, 122) C, VI, EB, O, 27, stamp in four framed segments.
(40-02, 2) no. **93** above, CEF/, 37.

II.—Stamps on Mortaria. Pl. xvii, A.

1 *a-b* (ϕ 1892-95) AÎNNSF (ANNVS or ANNIVS). Types **141-2** above.

2. (O.M. 50) /NNIVS (A]NNIVS ?). Type **146** above.

3 *a-b* (O.M. 448) found in Carlisle. AVSTF / MAN on both sides of spout of rim-fragment. Clay hard cream-coloured. (*Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* XXXV, p. 393, Camelon, AVST·MA.).

3*c* (55-14/13) found in English Street, Carlisle, 1914. AVST / MAN on rim-fragment. Clay pale yellow.

4. (T.H. 1892, 72) found at Tullie House, 1892. DOC. Type **145** above.

5 *a-b*. (T.H. 1892, 74) found at Tullie House, 1892. DOC F ? on both sides of spout of mortarium. Clay, pale red. Diam. of rim about 9 ins. See preceding, no. 4.

6 *a-b*. (R F. 108) MAF on both sides of spout on rim of mortarium. Clay, pale red, with cream-coloured slip coating.

7. (O.M. 449) SÎMIĹISH-E, SS reversed, double stamp. Type **144** above.

8. (O.M. 186) SVLI on rim-fragment, type **140** above.

9. (T.H. 1892) SVMÂCI on type **139** above.

III.—Stamps on Amphorae. Plate xvii, B.

1. (ϕ XXXII, 1892) found at Bank Street, Carlisle; ARAS/.

2. (O.M. 450) found in Carlisle; C·TYC. (C.I.L. XV, 3201*b*, Monte Testaccio, Rome).

3. (R.F. 137) found in Carlisle; FPPOR. (? First century, *Newstead*).

4. (5-98) found in Collier Lane, Carlisle, 1898; L·Q·S (*Silchester Pottery*, p. 281, pl. LXXXIII B, 35; also at Newstead, Corbridge and Wroxeter. C.I.L. XV, 3109*a*, Monte Testaccio, Rome, and thirteen other continental localities).

(5. (4-02-2) found at English Street, Carlisle, in 1902; L·V·C (C.I.L. XIII, iii, 1, 10002, 509, at Autun, Orleans (Mus.) and Friedberg).

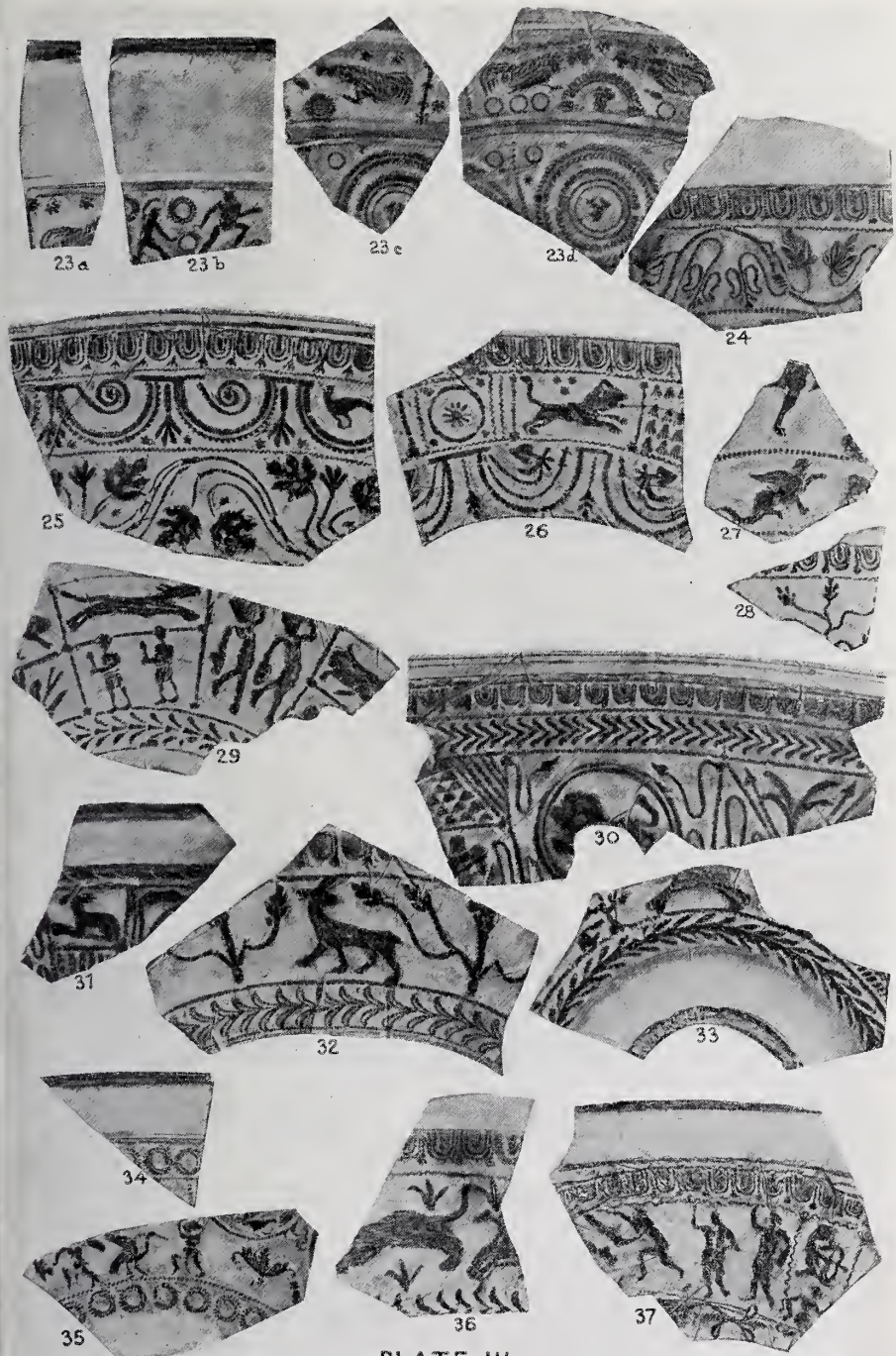
6. (T.H. 1892) found at Tullie House, Carlisle, in 1892; PANIRVES.

7. (O.M. 346) from Campfield, Bowness-on-Solway; PCHA. Scratched with a point, X and IXIIAI.

8. (55-14) found at English Street, Carlisle, in 1914; P·C·ICELI (*Wroxeter Report* IV, p. 57, 25, PCLOBI CELI. C.I.L. XV, 2787*f*, P.C. CEL = P.C[lodi I]CEL[i]).

PLATE I.

PLATE II.


23 a
23 b
23 c
23 d
24
25
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27
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29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
Scale
Inches
Centimetres

PLATE III.

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39
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41
42
43
44 a
44 b
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
Scale
Inches
Centimetres

PLATE IV.

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55
56
57
58
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ADvocisi
61
DOLICCI
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63
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66
67
68
69
70
Scale
Inches
Centimetres

PLATE V.

71
72
73
74
75
76
78
79
77
BANVOS
80
81
82
83
84
85
86a
86b
86c
Scale
Inches
Centimetres

PLATE VI.

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88
89
90
91
92
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94
95
96
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98
99
100a
100b
100c
101a
101b
102a
102b
Scale
Inches
Centimetres

PLATE VII.

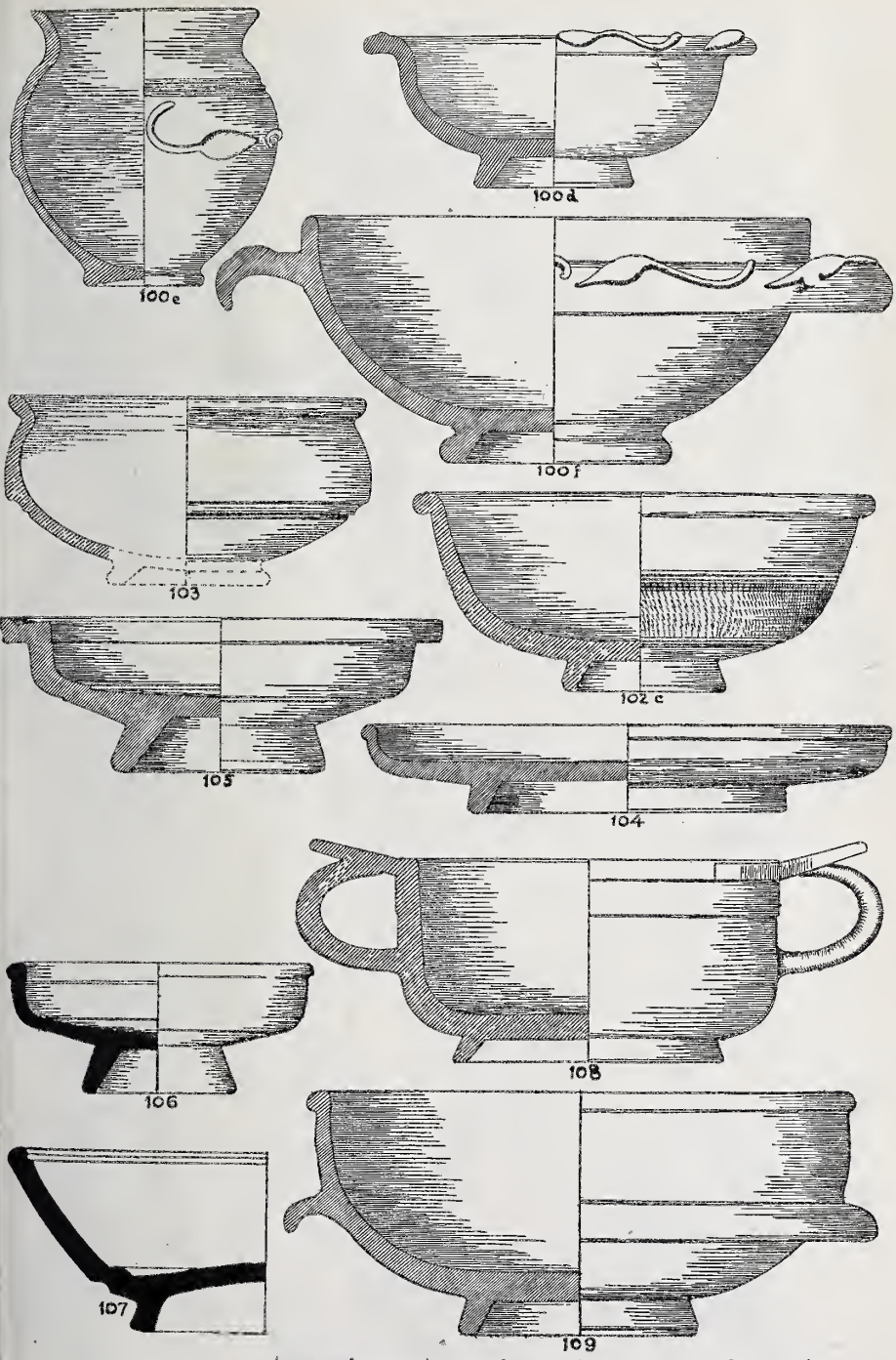

100e
100d
100f
103
102c
105
104
108
106
107
109
Scale
Inches
Centimetres

PLATE VIII

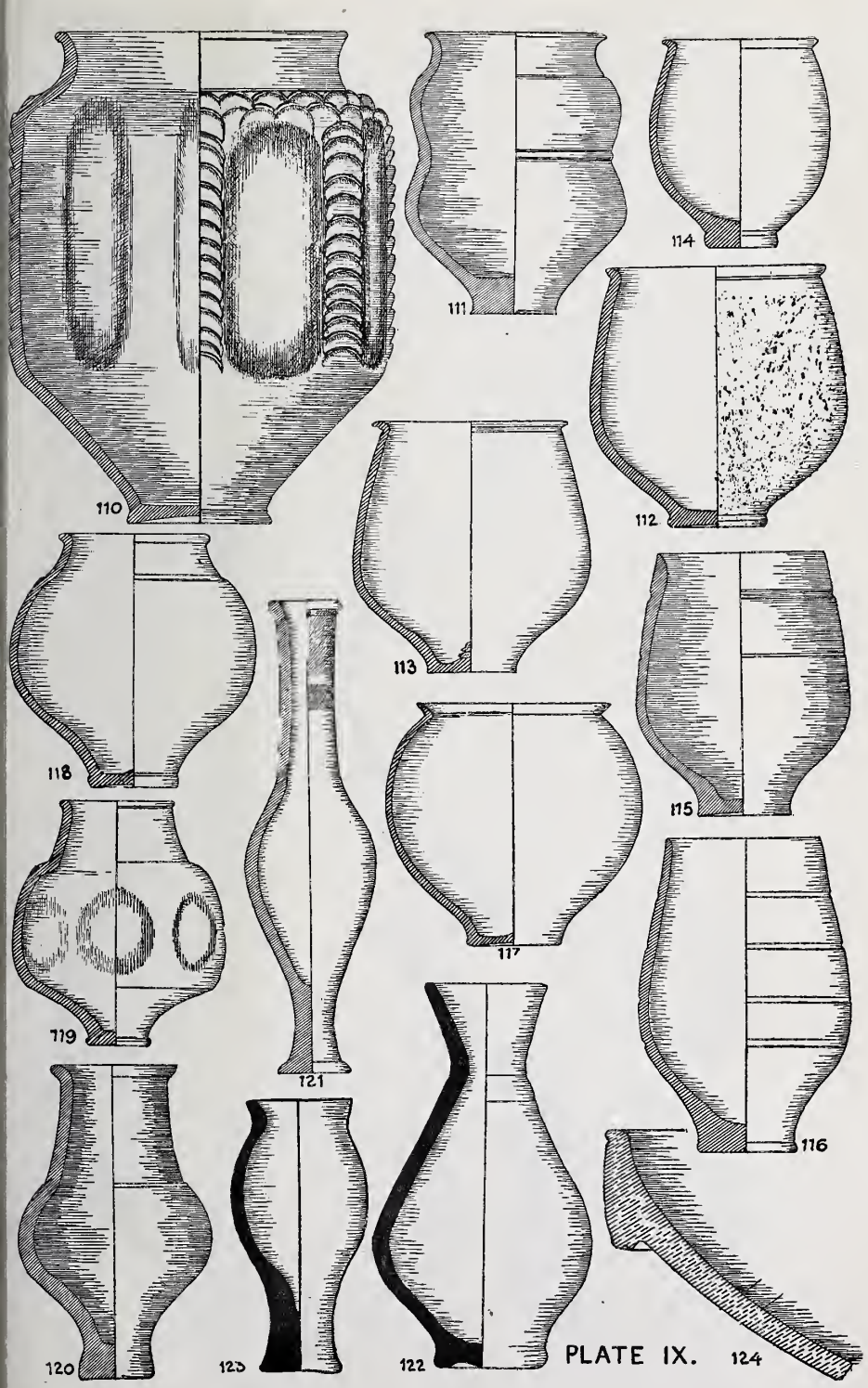


PLATE IX.

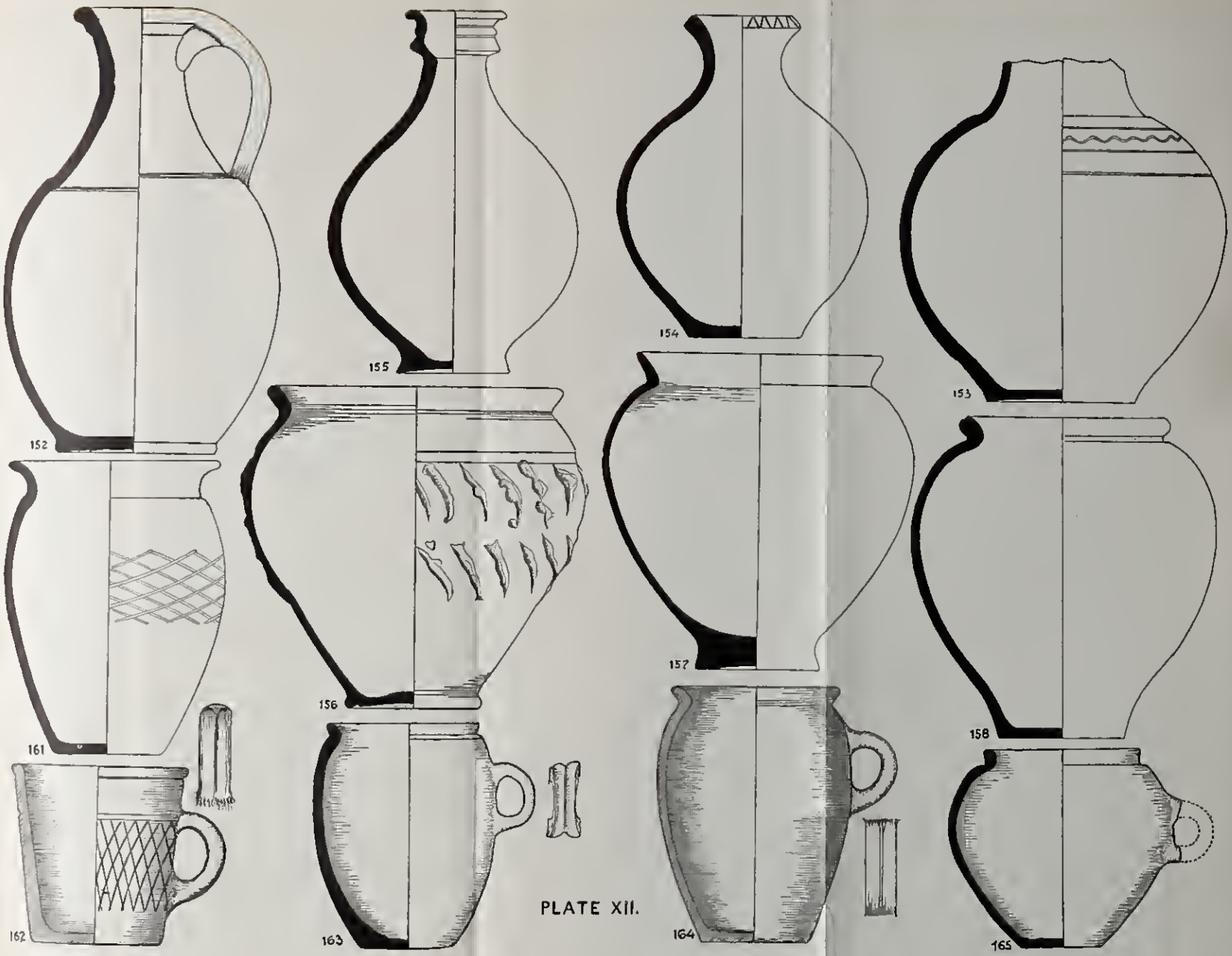


PLATE XII.

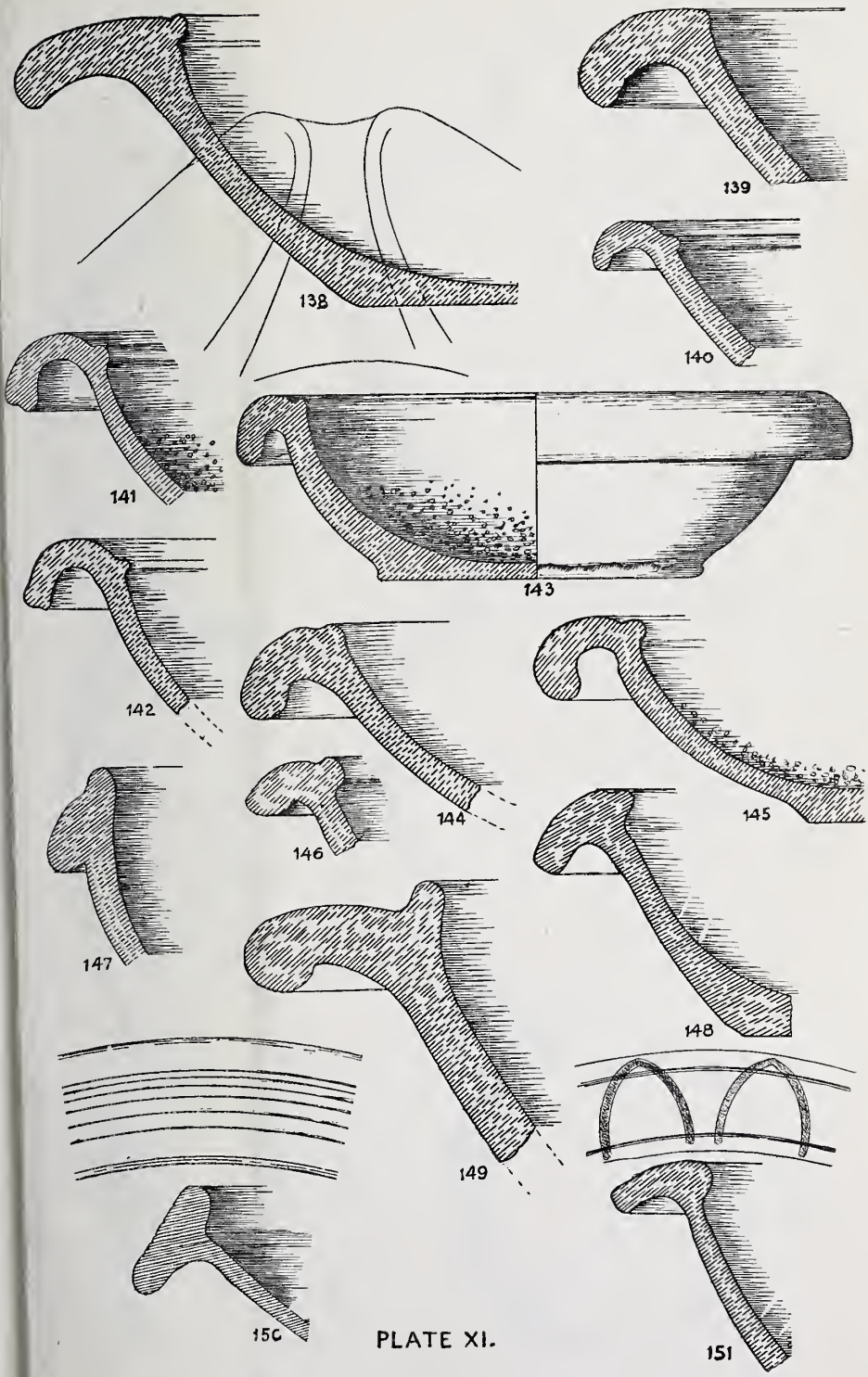
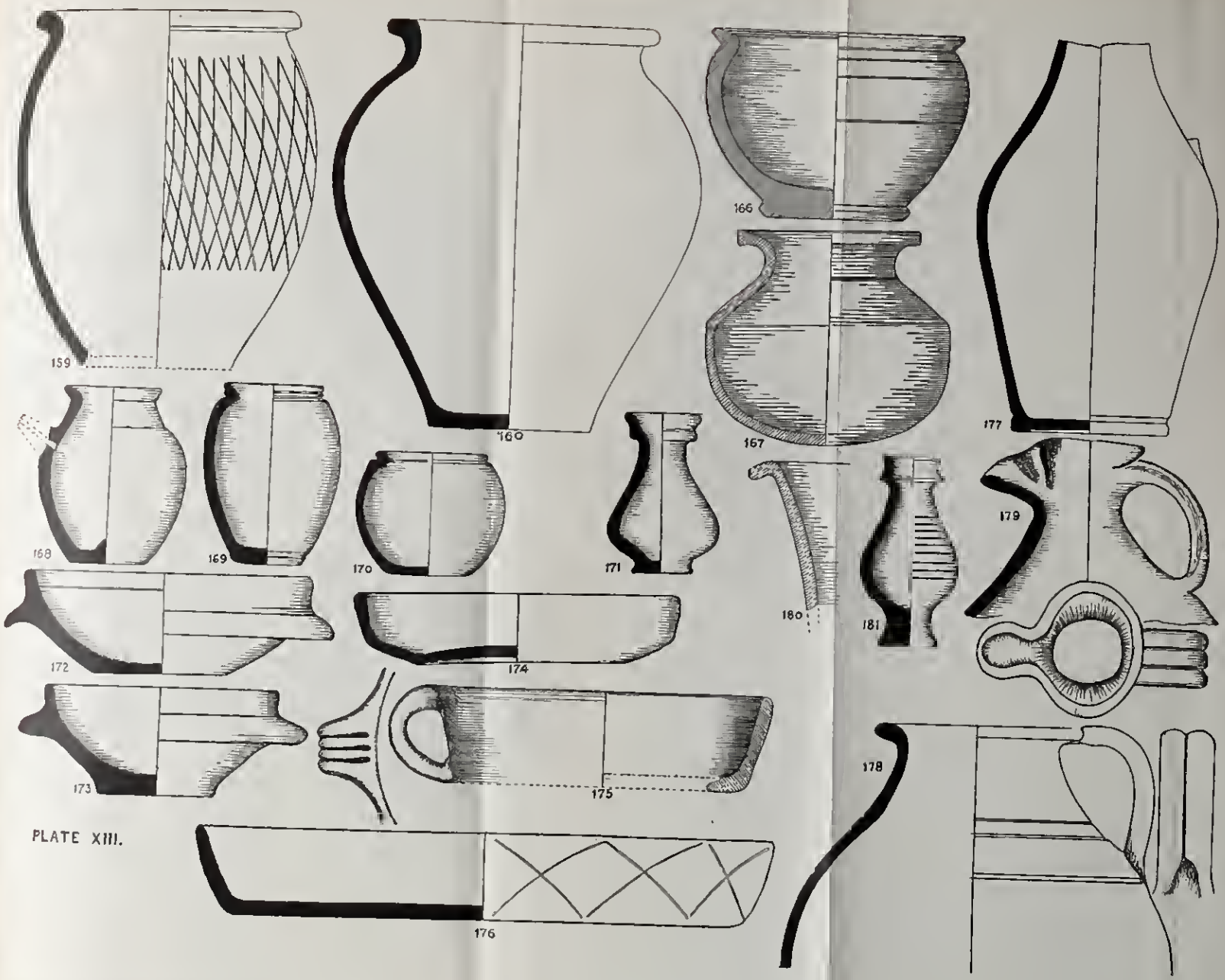


PLATE XI.


159
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181

PLATE XIII.

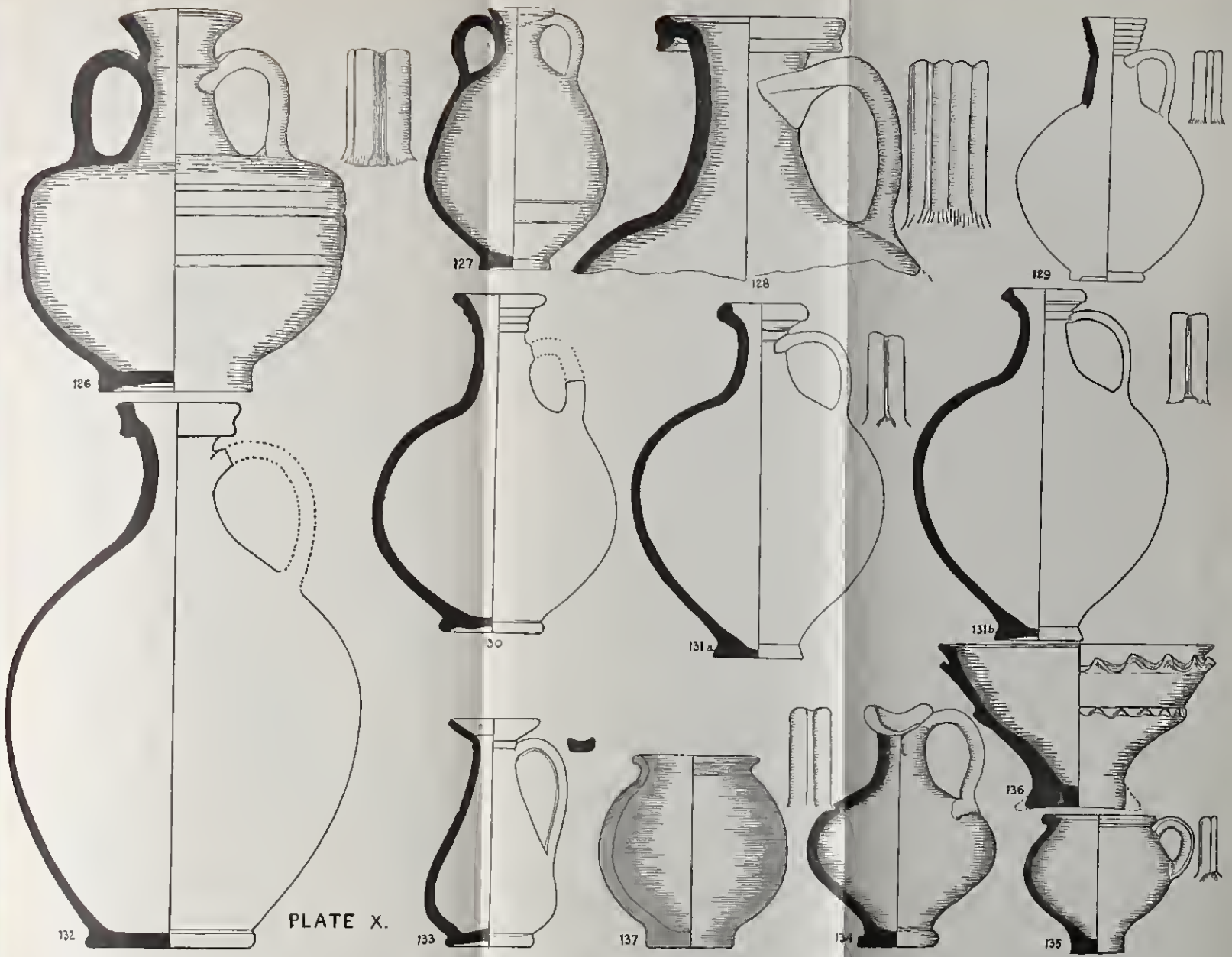
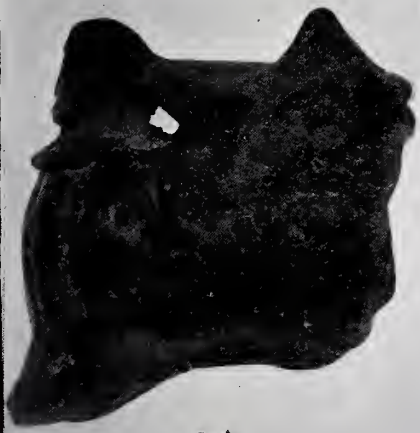


PLATE X.

182

183



184

PLATE XIV.

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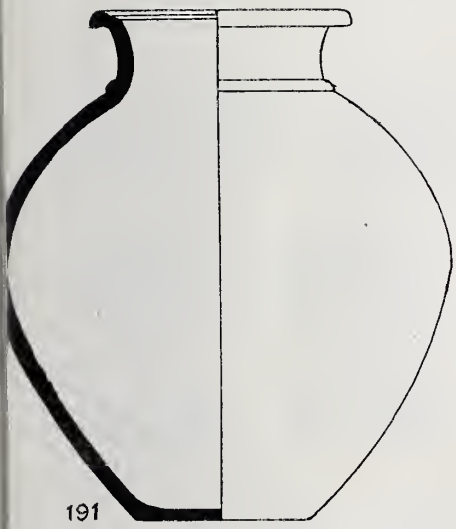
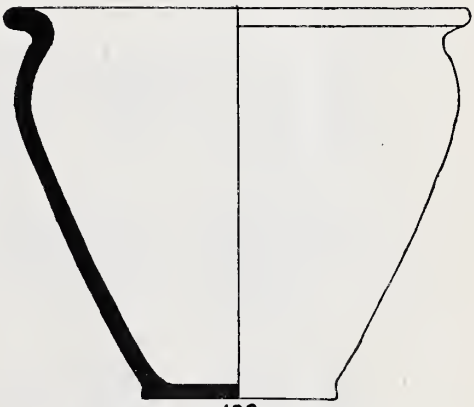
a

190 b

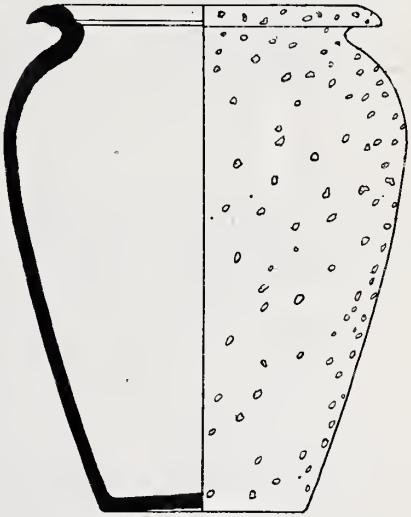
PLATE XV.



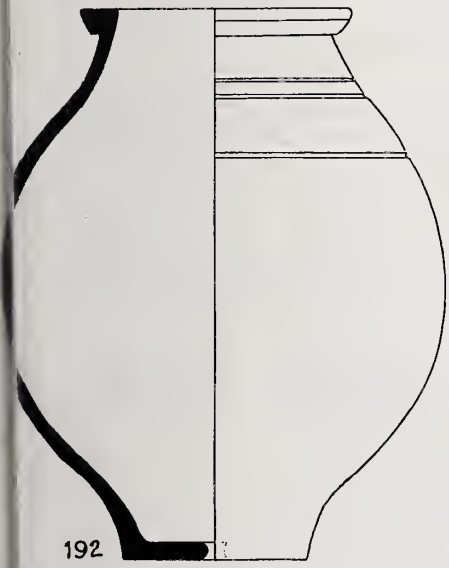
191



193

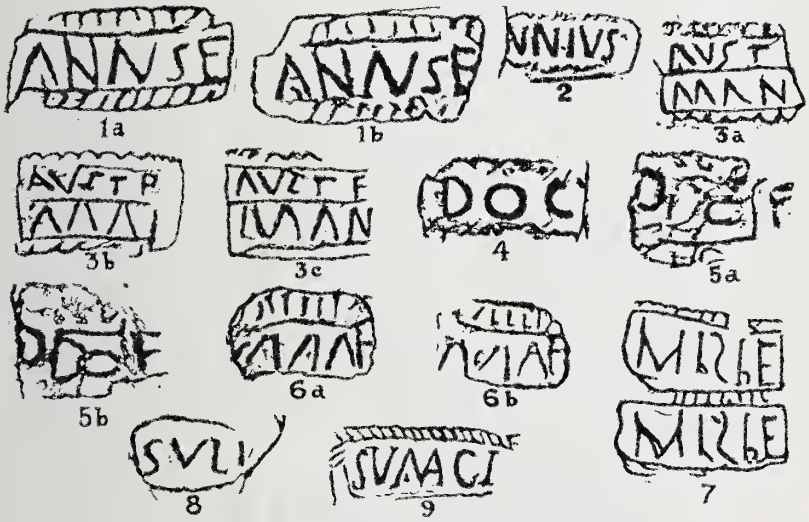


194

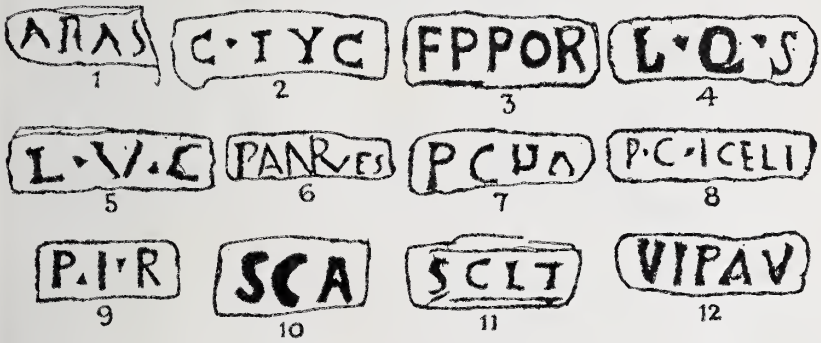


192

PLATE XVI. ($\frac{1}{4}$)



STAMPS ON MORTARIA.



STAMPS ON AMPHORAE.

PLATE XVII.

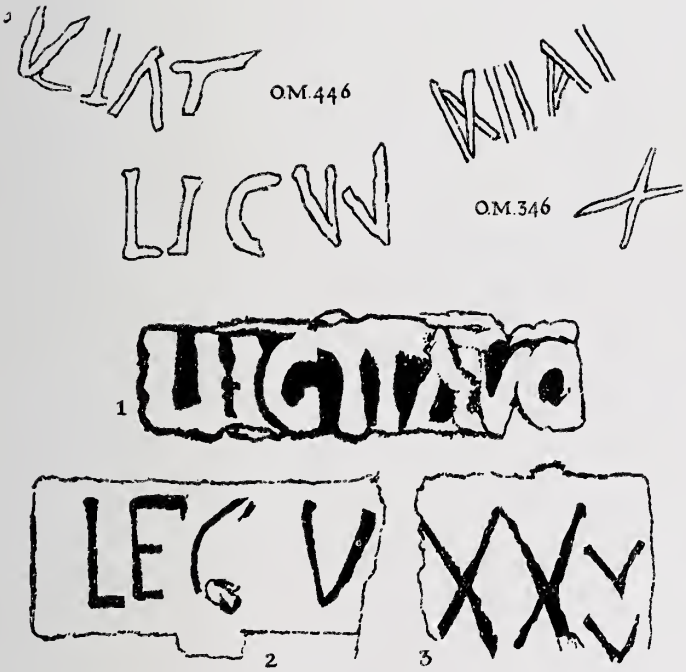


PLATE XVIII.

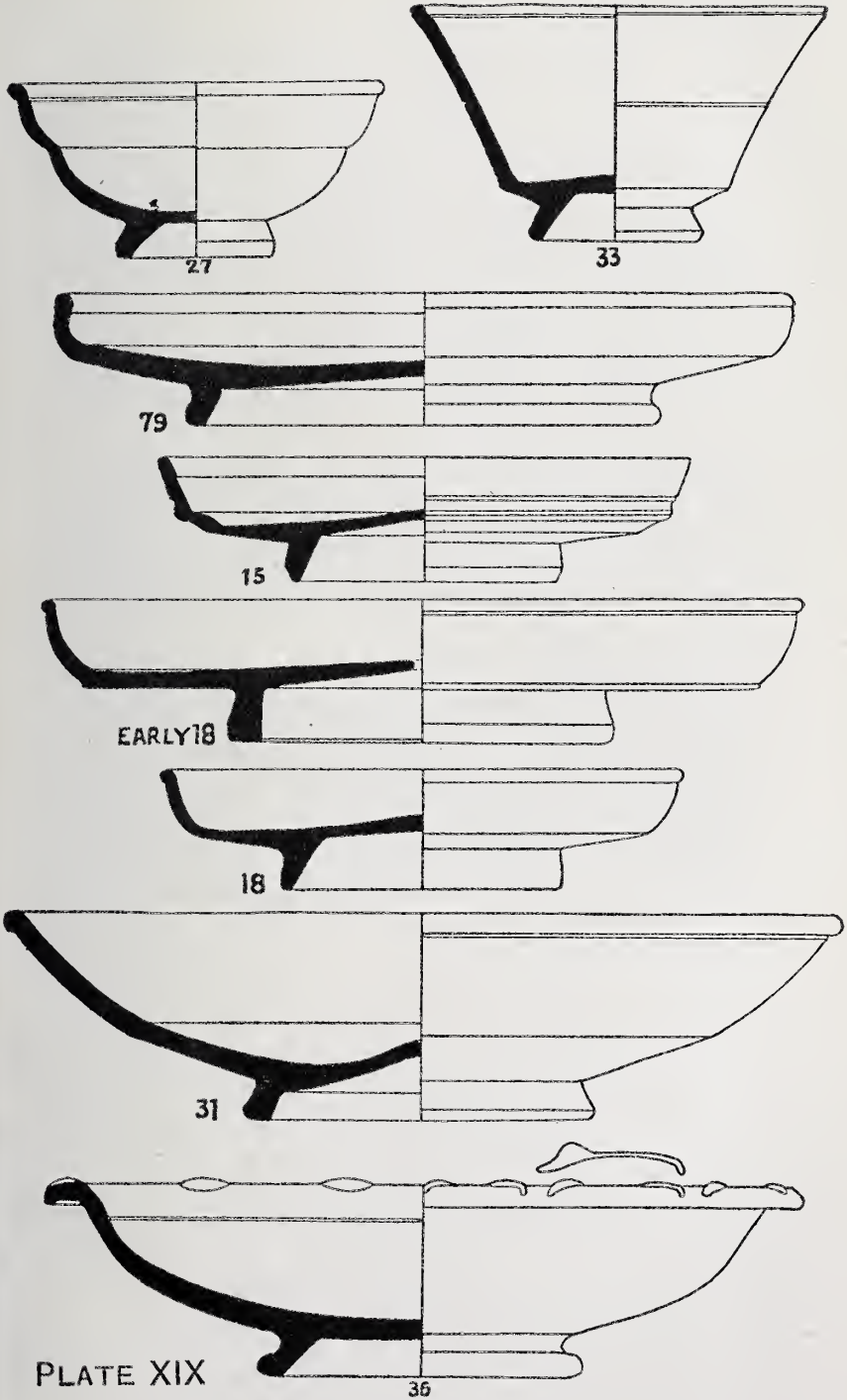


PLATE XIX

9. (O.M. 451) found at Carlisle **P·I·R**.

10. (55-14) found at English Street, Carlisle, in 1914; **SCA** (*Wroxeter Report*, IV, p. 57, SCA · V).

11. (4-02) found at English Street, Carlisle, in 1902; **SCLT** (C.I.L. XV, 2752*f*, SCLT, Monte Testaccio, Rome).

12. (T.H. 1892) found at Tullie House, Carlisle, in 1892, **VIPAV**.

IV.— Graffiti on Amphorae.

1. (O.M. 446) VLAT / LICW, scratched on handle after baking.

7 in § III above (O.M. 346) X and IXIIAI.

V.—Legionary Stamps. Plate xviii.

1. (T.H.) on fragment of roofing-tile about 10½ by 9 by 1⅛ ins.; **LIIGIIAVG**.

2. (14, 24-10) on fragment of brick, about 7¼ by 7 by 2⅜ ins.; **LEG V[I VIC P FIDELISF**.

3. (42, 15-54) on fragment of brick, about 6½ by 5¼ by 1⅞ ins.; **/XXV V**.

With reference to nos. 1 and 3, Professor Haverfield (*Transactions*, N.S. XIII, pp. 333-4) states that twenty-two such records of Legio II have been found on the Wall, and eight or ten of Legio XX, and the soldiers of both legions must have been often employed in military works; also that out of forty-eight or fifty inscriptions of this type which have been found on the line of the Wall, recording the building or rebuilding work of one or other of the three British legions (II, VI, XX), eighteen seem to belong to Legio VI (no. 2 above).

ART. XI.—*Five Strathclyde and Galloway charters—four concerning Cardew, and one the Westmorland Newbigging.* By the Rev. FREDERICK W. RAGG, M.A., F.R.Hist.S.

Communicated April 26th, 1917.

I.—GOSPATRIK'S CHARTER.

THIS was shown to me first in 1902 by Mr. R. H. Bailey of Lowther, whose care for ancient documents cannot be too highly praised, and was copied by me then, and the photograph which now appears in these *Transactions* was at that time taken by my urgent request ; for recognizing at once some of its difficulties and its value I felt a mere transcript insufficient. I could not then, however, publish. But after working amongst such Denton deeds as appear to remain at Lowther, and getting these, scattered and separated as they had long been, into some sort of arrangement, I have been able to recognize the charter as one of these deeds, the first of the Cardew series, and I now return to it.

Denton (*Accompt of Estates and Families in Cumberland*) tells us that Cardew was held in the male line from early times * till the last of these owners sold it to a chaplain whom he names Berrington, who transferred it to the Bishop of Carlisle. In the existing charters about this transfer to Bishop de Halton, I do not read the name as Berrington, but in one as Bermton and in another as Bermeton ; and the chaplain in question seems to be the John de Bermton mentioned in the Registers of that Bishop, read by the lamented W. N. Thompson in his

* He mentions some personal names of these, Thomas, Stephen, and William ; others Adam, Henry, and Aldusa—all de Carthew, occur in the Pipe Rolls of Henry III.

edition of those Registers as Bermton or Berinton,* a priest collated to Denton as rector in 1317, and thereafter accordingly not 'capellanus.' I had the same doubt which Thompson shows about the name, but the two forms set it at rest. It was evidently through the acquisition of Cardew that the charter came into Denton possession. John Denton's account of that acquisition agrees with the documents. Bermeton transferred it to Bishop de Halton, he says, to the use of John Burdon—that is as interim feoffee. John Burdon gave it to his son John Burdon and his heirs, and in default of these to John Denton and his wife Joan and the heirs of their bodies, and it remained in their possession till John Denton's time who wrote the "Accompt," about the last days of Queen Elizabeth.

Denton does not hint why the Bishop of Carlisle was thus chosen for interim feoffee, but we gain a special reason from Pipe Rolls, Cumberland, of 14 Henry III (1230-1 †), and the Placita de quo Warranto. The barony or manor of Dalston under which Cardew was held had been in the immediate tenure of the Crown and was given by Henry III to William Mauclerk, Bishop of Carlisle, to be held by the Bishops as superior lords. Bermton's transfer was simply granting for the time being the immediate as well as the seigniorial possession of Cardew to the superior lord, the Bishop, and the Bishop's re-grant of it could cause no question.

This grant of the overlordship to the Bishops of Carlisle is an important point in the history of a charter so full of puzzles as this which need much thought. The document I have aforetime stated shows clear signs of being a copy of a lost original made by one to whom the letters and the language were strange, and at first, and indeed till lately, I thought it made much later than a very close

* *Episcopal Registers* of Bishop Halton, ii, pp. 30 and 145.
† See F. H. M. Parker's *Pipe Rolls of Cumberland and Westmorland.*

and critical examination of it since has shown it now to be. Were it in the ordinary mediaeval Latin there would have been little difficulty in settling its age, but some of the characteristics of different periods of writing seemed to show themselves in it. The photograph does not reveal all that scrutiny can find; only a very close and careful noting of every stroke of every letter in its pale writing, by the help of a lens, does.

From the photograph Dr. Jenkinson, Librarian of the Cambridge University Library; Mr. Chadwick; Mr. Lapsley; Mr. Craster, Sub-Librarian of the Bodleian; and Mr. Plummer of Corpus Christi, Oxon.; who have most kindly examined it, agree in its being a copy made by one who was not accustomed to the language, and all of them who are palaeographists, in its being a thirteenth century copy. The reasons which occur to me now in concurrence with this judgment I will give later when I come to the wording of the document. I wish first to turn to its substance, merely premising that there is sufficient reason to suppose it fairly representative of the lost original.

Gospatrik the grantor could only be the Gospatrik who, born about 1025, was from 1067 to 1072 Earl of Northumberland and was then expelled and became Earl of Dunbar; one of whose sons, a second Gospatrik, succeeded him as Earl of Dunbar and died 16th August, 1139; another, Dolfin, was lord, in Carlisle, of Cumberland, and another, Waltheof, in Allerdale. Gospatrik mentions Earl Siward in the charter in such a way that we have to conclude that they had aforetime worked in conjunction or in the same continuous spirit. Siward was Earl of Deira from 1038 when Bernicia was in possession of Eadwulf, younger brother of Ealdred, father of Siward's wife. It was only through her descent that Siward her husband became Earl of Deira, and by the murder of Eadwulf that he became Earl of Bernicia and thus of all Northumberland.

Gospatrik, son of an aunt of Siward's wife Ealdgyth and of Maldred brother of Duncan King of Scots, had claim likewise on the female side to either Bernicia or Deira; but to Cumberland as a sub-kingdom in the old Strathclyde he could succeed, not as an heir of Northumberland but as a relative of the King of the Scots, among whom a son during his father's life, or a younger scion it would seem, held sway as far back as 972 when Malcolm 'rex Cumbrorum' attests a charter of King Eadgar to Canterbury Cathedral.* Eadgar had mentioned in the Witenagemot of 970 † having of late overcome 'Scottas et Cumbras et Bryttas'—the two latter being Strathclyde—but these were handed over by him as they had been by Eadred, to the Scots' King to hold under him and to co-operate with him.

Siward having ruled all Northumbria from 1041 to 1055 died, and the earldom was given to Tostig a brother of Harold of England. He was expelled by the Northumbrians in 1066 and a brother of the Earl of Mercia, Morkere,‡ elected, who submitted to William the Conqueror in 1067 but was soon deposed and replaced by Copsig once a deputy of Tostig. He in turn soon fell the earldom being apparently divided, for Oswulf II one of the Northumbrian family became earl, north of Tyne in 1067, only to fall that year. Then Gospatrik made arrangements with William the Conqueror and obtained Northumberland but was driven out in 1072; his claim to this earldom being through his mother, as already mentioned. After his expulsion in 1072, as probably also

* Birch, *Cartul. Sax.*, iii, 448.

† Birch, *Cartul. Sax.*, iii, 557.

‡ As to the reasons for Morkere's election, I suspect that the Ethelgar of Ordericus Vitalis, iv, 1, v, 14 was Ælfgar (father of Morkere and son of Leofric and Godiva of Mercia) and that Ælfgifu, Ælfgar's wife, was daughter of Uhtred and Ælfgifu, and so sister of Ealdgyth, wife of Maldred. This would account for the choice by Northumbrians of the Mercian Morkere and for Siward Barn's connection with Morkere at Ely and his being "tribunus Merciorum." Searle (A.-*S. Bishops*, etc., p. 446) gives Uhtred as father of Æthelgar (Ælfgar?) should it not be father-in-law? This connection would clear up a mystery.

before 1067, only without the title of earl before this, his possession on his mother's side was Dunbar, the remnants of the Northumbrian earldom of Bernicia, in the portion which had been taken by Scotland. Siward's only connection with Cumbria (Cumberland) would be when he on behalf of Malcolm had defeated Macbeth and he and his relative the sub-ruler of Cumbria could work together. This was in 1054-5. The conjunction of the two in granting rights mentioned in the charter is apparently alluded to as in the past, in days when Thore father of Thorfynn was a partaker. So at least I understand the charter—rights which Gospatrik continues and confirms to Thore's son.

Cumberland had a mixture of English and Danes (Anglo-Danes), Scandinavians from Norway, possibly, as well as from the Hebrides and Ireland, and Cymric peoples. A local language in such circumstances loses inflexions or has them confused; words of similar sound in the original separate tongues acquire even a changed meaning, and spelling may become, as it did in later days in England, a matter in which variety delighted, and vowel and consonantal sounds show change. These characteristics one might expect to find, and when they occur, together with misreadings or mistakes in a copy made by a scribe "who imitated what he imperfectly understood," * the result needs careful analysis to make sure how far the substance is representative of the lost deed. But mistakes and misreadings in such a case are limited; for copies of deeds were only made in those times for necessary legal purposes, to ensure inheritance or safety in acquisition. It was not till long afterwards that they were made for antiquarian interest. A flaw in a document could prevent its being valid in court. And when a copy was made, sufficient attestation—as instances yet existing show—was also

* Mr. Plummer's comment.

given to warrant that it was an exact copy.* Not that this eliminated all errors, but that it kept errors within bounds.

One result of my experience has been that the copy, not seldom retaining the shape of the original—I do not say the size—was made line by line to correspond with it. Emendations therefore to be probable are limited to misreadings of letters and conjectures of faded portions made by him who copied, and omissions of words which take up little space—or else of whole lines. For some difficulties there are sometimes, fortunately, aids in parallel phrases and formulas in other deeds.

The transfer of the barony of Dalston, under which Cardew was held, to the Bishops of Carlisle was an occasion when something corresponding to the King's 'Inspeximus' of charters would take place, and when a copy to replace a deed might be granted by the new seigniorial owner, the original being deposited with him. For various reasons this might happen—the copy being allowed by him as equivalent to the original and attested by some accompanying form. If it should turn out then that the conclusions come to by the study of the writing are that it was of that period, it seems reasonable to conclude that this is its date.

The script of the original being one to which the scribe was unused he has copied as nearly as he could most of the letters and made them in his usual way of forming letters, but some capitals of which he felt sure he has made in the fashion of the day; hence the mixture of shapes which range from the time of William I to that of Henry III. The actual period is practically settled after close scrutiny to be the time when the small *a* was made with three strokes: the lower left curve, the longer right curve and the joining of these at the top of the left curve

* This is only literally true in the cases of the smaller private possessions. Powerful bodies or corporations could contest where these could not.

by a third horizontal stroke, and when the tendency to indulge in thick horizontal strokes, bearing on the pen, was in vogue—as the top strokes of the letter *g* show, and when the tendency to keep the curve in the top stroke of the *T* remained, and the ordinary small *f* as written in Latin words was made with a long straight stroke begun with a small curve at the left of the top, and then a curve almost like a *c* added to the right at the top of the straight stroke. This process, though the shape is different, shows itself as that in which the *f's* in the charter were written; in some cases a straight horizontal stroke at the bottom of the *c* completes the work. All but two are thus formed. This was the time when also *y* had still a dot placed over it in the usual Latin script of charters. These characteristics come together in the early part of the reign of Henry III. And I think we may feel assured then that our copy is of the time when Henry III transferred the Dalston barony to the Bishopric of Carlisle, i.e. 14 Henry III (1230-31).

In working up the whole matter afresh I have returned to my first conviction that the opening word is in the first and not the third person.* Following a suggestion of the editor of the *English Historical Review* I had been induced, not willingly, I admit, to give that up. But all the Anglo-Saxon charters which exist and begin in the third person according to the continental form have the third personal pronoun in the opening sentence, not the first, and the much greater number, from Cnut's days to those of William of Normandy, which begin with the name and have the first possessive pronoun in the same sentence imply the name being in the first as equivalent to "I." One of these† has a Latin copy. The Anglo-Saxon runs: "Cnut Kinge cyde"—the Latin "Ego Cnut rex revelo," which fits the case exactly.

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* In this Mr. Plummer agrees.

† Thorpe's *Diplomatorium Anglicum aevi Saxon.*, pp. 332-3.

Then as to those to whom the greeting is addressed. These greetings in all kindred charters were not addressed to the occupants on a separate tenant's land; they were directed to all dwellers in the district or territory where the tenant's land was and were governed by the grantor. I know of no exception to this rule. And those concerned in this matter were they who dwelt in the part of the Strathclyde kingdom named Cumbria or Cumbraland—Strathclyde south of Solway; Cumbrians, who had possessed it and were its chief population still, with whom the newer settlers had become immixed. And I take it that the word "Cōmbres" is for "Cōmbraisc" or "Cōmbresc;" whether for "Commbresc," or "Coumbresc" I feel uncertain, but I think the latter has something to be said for it because of the old pronunciation of *ou*—like it is now in "youth." This Anglo-Saxon form is well known; its use in the word *Englisc*, has come down to us as "English," in the south. It became "Inglis" in Scotland. I take this as the adjective "Combresc" also for the additional reason that in the records of these Lake Counties the sign of the genitive is usually missed.* I should hardly have expected it so early but that the omission shows itself in this very charter twice "on Eadread dagan," and "on Moryn dagan."

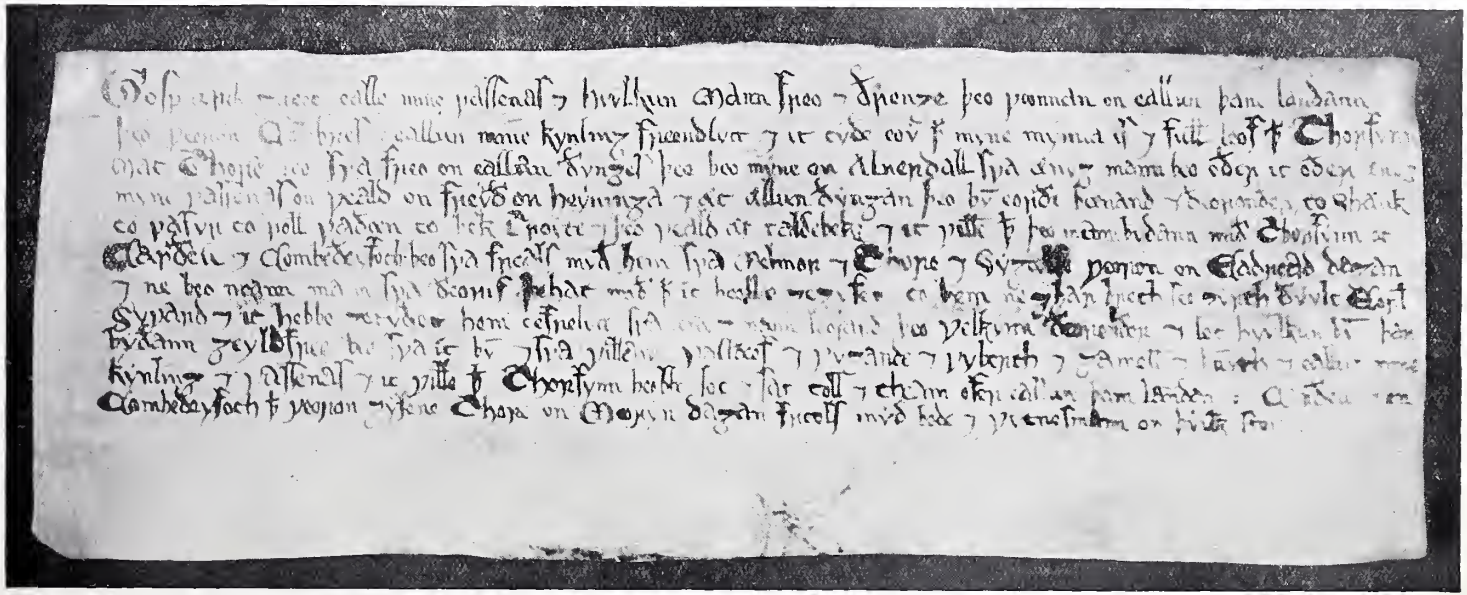
The formula "on weald on freyd on heyninga" should correspond as well to later expressions in charters as to those of Anglo-Saxon times. In later days it appears in its simplest form as "in bosco" and "in plano," to include land of all descriptions, but with much addition sometimes, as in Huctred's charter which follows. One of Edward the Confessor's to St. Peter of York has "on

* Two of many instances are Emma Nycolwyff and Angneta Jacwif in a Cliburn rental of 1390. It does not follow that in the original Norse settlements this was so. The names they gave to places at the outset as possessions of persons crystallized in use. It was the after fusion of different tongues which caused this in terms in ordinary usage.

wude and on felde, on mede and on watere." Another of the same King to St. Peter also * has "on wude and on felde be strande and be lande on straete and of straete and on eallan thingan" where the jingle shows that the formula was meant as an easy expression to include all classes. If therefore "on weald, on freyd and on heyninga" is to have the same comprehensiveness, which seems to be intended, "freyd" being the ancient word for wood, and "heyninga" being connected with Old Norse *hegna*, to hedge, from which comes "to hayn" and "hayne" an enclosure in MS. Lincoln A, i, 17 (Halliwell, *Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words*) and giving the suggestion "enclosures" for *heyninga;* there is left to correspond with "weald," the Scandinavian *völlr* and this would include uplands, open mountain-sides and their wooded glens; an unusual meaning for Anglo-Saxon but not very different from the later term "forest" in such districts as Martindale for example.

Next as to the possibility of distinguishing between the peculiarities of the lost original and the alterations which the thirteenth century scribe may have made. He would keep to the sense as far as he understood it, for the reason already given—the validity of the document. Of the two letters which did not come into use in Latin words in charters and were going out of use in English at that time, he has made mistakes in one, not throughout however—ƿ (w): the other þ (*th*) had not so much gone out of use, as certain of the Lowther charters of later dates show; and indeed the Lay Subsidy Roll of 6 Edward III, 1332, for Westmorland, gives evidence that some of the local compilers of the lists were still using it, and that the official clerk who tabulated the whole for the Exchequer could not understand it. Hence Crakanþorp is turned into Crakarnyrop and Melkanþorpe into Melkanyroph; possibly by that time the top of the þ had been shortened

* Thorpe, *Dipl.*, 368; 414.



GOSPATRIK'S CHARTER.

Phot. by Col. F. Haswell.

TO FACE P. 207.

somewhat so as to be nearer the shape of *y*, which in the next century it became as in " y^e " and " y^t " for *the* and *that*. At the beginnings of words in the charter the scribe has not mistaken the ƿ (*w*) ; it is only in the insides of some words and at the ends. In general however the changes likely to be made by the scribe beyond these would not affect the internal parts of the words so much as those inflections left which would give him some intimation of the connection and the sense, and these are very limited, as we shall see. It is evident too that the original must have been fairly legible when copied, or we should not have so much that gives consecutive sense.

I now turn to the transcription of the document and to what occur to me as the best suggestions I can now give of emendations which I hope the parallels I quote will justify. After the transcription and emended text I can I think offer a text which would be nearer the normal Anglo-Saxon had it been written, as it was not, in that. The comparison will help towards interesting conclusions which I have come to about the dialect.

The parchment is 10 inches by $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches, not quite rectangular.

The Text as it stands:

Gospatrick greot ealle mine wassenas & hyylkun mann freo & đrenge þeo woonnan on eallun þam landann þeo weoron Comb̄res & eallun mine kynling freondlycc & ic cyđe eoy þ[æt] myne mynna is & full leof þ[æt] Thorfynn mac Thore beo swa freo on eallan đynges þeo beo myne on Alnerdall swa ænyg mann beo ođer ic ođer ænyg myne wassenas on weald on freyđ on heyninga & æt ællun đyngan þeo bȳ eorđe bœnand & đeoronđer to Shauk to Wafyr to poll Wađoen to bek Troyte & þeo weald æt Caldebek. & ic wille þ[æt] þeo mann bydann miđ Thorfynn æt Cardeu & Combeđeyfoch beo swa freals myđ hem swa Melmor & Thore & Sygolf weoron on Eadread dagan & ne beo neann mann swa đeorif []ehat miđ þ[æt] ic heobbe gegyfen to hem ne ghar brech seo

gyrth đyylc Eorl Syward & ic hebbe gecyđet hem cefrelycc swa ænyg mann leofand þeo welkynn đeoronđer & loc hyylkun bȳ þar byđann geyldfreo beo swa ic bȳ & swa Willann Walđeof & Wygande & Wyberth & Gamell & Kn̄yth & eallun mine kynling & wassenas & ic wille þ[æt] Thorfynn heobbe soc & sac toll & theam ofer eallun þam landan on Carđeu & on Combedeyfoch þ[æt] weoron gyfene Thore on Moryn dagan freols myd bode & wytnesmann on þyylk stow.

Text amended.

Gospatrik greot ealle mine wassenas & hwylcun mann freo & đrenge þeo woonnan on eallun þam landann þeo weoron Com̄bres[c] & eallun mine kynling freondlycc, & ic cyđe eow þ[æt] myne mynna is & full leof þ[æt] Thorfynn mac Thore beo swa freo on eallan đynges þeo beo myne on Alnerdall swa ænyg mann beo ođer ic ođer* ænyg myne wassenas on weald on freyđ on heyninga & æt allun đyngan þeo byn [on] eorđe bœnand & đeoronđer to Shauk to Wafyr to poll Wađoen to bek Troyte & þeo weald æt Caldebek. & ic wille þæt þeo mann [þe] bydann mid Thorfynn æt Cardeu & Combedeyfoch beo swa freals myđ hem swa Melmor & Thore & Sygolf weoron on Eadread dagan & ne beo neann mann swa đeor of þeaht mid þ[æt] ic heobbe gegyfen [þ[æt] he] to hem ne ghar brech seo gyrth đyylc Eorl Syward & ic hebbe gecyđet hem swa fre(o)lycc swa ænyg man leofand þeo welkynn đeoronđer & loc hwylkun byn [þe] þar bydann geyldfreo beo swa ic byn & swa Willann [&] Wallđeof & Wygande† & Wyberth & Gamell & Kunyth & eallun mine kynling & wassenas & ic wille þæt Thorfynn heobbe soc & sac [&] toll & theam ofer eallun þam landan on Carđeu & on Combedeyfoch þ[æt] weoron gyfene Thore on Moryn dagan freols myd bode & wytnesmann on þyylk stow.

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* ođer for odde appears in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in 1127. Plummer.

† Wigan comes as a personal name in charter V. Compare Weland, a possible variation of Willann.

Translation.

[I] Gospatrik greet all my servants and every man free and dreng that dwell on all those lands that were Cumbrian and all my kindred amicably and I make known to you that it is my wish and my full leave that Thorfynn macThore be as free in all things that are mine in Alnerdale as any man may be either I or any of my servants in regard to open land, forest and enclosed land and with all things that are there found on the earth or under as far as Shauk and Waver and Wampool and on the open land at Caldbeck. And I will that the men that remain with Thorfynn at Cardew and Cumdivock be as free together with him as Melmor * and Thore and Sygolf were in Eadred's days : and let no man be so bold of counsel in regard to what I have given that he in any way break the peace which Earl Siward and I have declared to him as freely as any man living beneath the heaven ; and look you whoever there is that abides there let them be geld free as I am and as Willan and Waltheof and Wygande and Wyberth and Gamell and Kenneth and all my kindred and servants. And I will that Thorfinn have soc and sac, and toll and theam over all those lands at Cardew and at Cumdivock that were given to Thore in Moryn's days as a freedom with proclamation and by voucher at that place.

This emendation is what I imagine the text to be which the scribe of the thirteenth century copied. It has differences from normal Anglo-Saxon grammar and spelling which I think must have belonged to the original and not at all likely to have been made by the scribe. Some of these I will take one by one as they occur. There is a tendency to the spelling *eo* for *æ* or *e* as in "greot" for *graet* or *gret*, "weoron" for *waeron*, "leof" for *leaf*. "þeo" is for *se*, "đeoron-

* Mælmor, Mr. Plummer says, is Maelmuire, the tonsured slave of Mary, and is Goedelic ; and Kenneth is Irish Cinaed.

ðer" for *ðaerunder*, "heobbe" for *hebbe*; "mann" seems to occur for *man* and *men*. There is also the ending *un* for *um*, as in "hwylkun" for *hwylcum*, "eallun" for *eallum*; and strangely enough in "hwylkun" (after the word "loc") and in "eallun mine kynling" towards the end, in both of which cases the words ought to be nominative and not dative; and again in "ofer eallun þam landan." There is nothing to account for this repetition of the same characteristic but the possibility of its being a local usage. That these charters in Anglo-Saxon followed the local usage is quite clear to any one who will go through those which are given in Thorpe, and notice the differences which show themselves between those of different provinces granted by the same person. They must have been written by a local scribe in the dialect of the district.

The next thing noticeable is that the plural of the verbs ends in *an* and *ann*. This present tense indicative ending, for the more usual *-aþ*, has been recognized as beginning in the East Midlands, among the Anglo-Danes, and hence it has been called the East Midland English. But this after all amounts to no more than that the earliest instances of its being adopted throughout occur in literature remaining of that district. There seem to be signs of its beginning in the Rushworth Gospels—rare enough it is true—and these were Northumbrian. As a theory of how it began I venture to suggest that it was a replacement of the indicative form by the subjunctive, made by the Norse settlers who found it easier not to be too much troubled by forms and moods in the language they found where they settled: they had plenty of grammatical forms of their own. But as it was Anglo-Dane it might easily have reached Cumberland. A characteristic however of that dialect when developed was the participle in *ende*, while the Northumbrian had *ande*, and this we have in "boenand" and "leofand" in the

charter. Now neither at the time of the original nor of the copy should we expect a Midland characteristic (embracing East Anglian) round Carlisle. The charter when vernacular as I have said was addressed to the local people in their tongue. And had the scribe of the thirteenth century altered this to modernize it to his days he would have made the plural of the verbs end in *s* or would have dropped the inflection, approximating it to the Norse. Therefore we are thrown back on to the idea that in this he made no change, and accordingly that this dialect which was afterwards East Midland had begun in the North West in Gospatrik's day.

The change from accusative to dative which the address gives, " Gospatrik greot mine wassenas & hyylkun mann—& eallun mine kynling " is not to be rejected for its irregularity. For an analogous case (Thorpe, p. 333), is that in a charter of Cnut which runs " Cnut cing . . cyđe minan biscopan & minum eorlum & ellan minan þegnan," where the middle is dative and the others accusatives ; and though this occurs with another verb it is a parallel. " Wassenas " which comes in place of the usual " þegenas" of Anglo-Saxon charters is Keltic : *gwasan* (Welsh) a page, an attendant, a retainer, formed from *gwas*, a servant, which was Breton as well as Welsh, and in fact forms the first syllable of Gospatrik's own name Gwas-Patrik. The variation " freals " may be a misreading of the thirteenth century scribe ; " bek " as we know is Norse (a word like it was Anglo-Saxon) transplanted to Normandy as well as England.

The sentence beginning " & ne beo neann mann swa đeorif," with the blurred word following, is a difficult one for several reasons. In its midst comes the blurred letter where after very close examination I think it is plain that the scribe began a word with *m*. The remains of a partly expunged letter fits this letter only. He had, I imagine, begun the word " miđ " which next follows, by

mistake ; then he appears to have expunged and in doing this somewhat disturbed the word " freals " in the line above, and partly washed out the lower portions of the *a* and *l* and disarranged the lowest portion of the long *s*. The parchment shows this more clearly than the photograph. Then he continued his writing before the parchment was dry. Hence the ink spread. And one mistake often leads to another, though the very fact of this expunging, I take it, shows that he was awake to his work, and instead of writing " þeaht " (which in pure Anglo-Saxon, should have had an inflection *e*), he wrote " þehat," and then went on with " mid " in its proper place. But there is another difficulty in the word preceding. An Anglo-Saxon adjective ending in *if* is, I think, unknown. The *f* too is made differently from all the others save one. What occurs to me as likely is that the *i* in *if* represents a half faded *o*, in *of*, and that the original text had " swa deor of þeaht(e)." There is an example in the Lindisfarne *St. Matthew* which was of course a Northumbrian version in v, 8, " claene of hearte " (pure in heart *). The usual word in the connection is " dyrsti(g) " as in Cnut's charter (Thorpe, 308). But William of Normandy (Thorpe, 439) has " & ne beo nan man swa deort þe hit undo þ[æt] ic hebbe gecydet Criste " (and let no man be so audacious that he undoes what I have declared as given to Christ) in a charter to Beverley. The adjective " deor " is more usual than " deort " and would fit here. As for its first letter being turned into an aspirate d, this need not disconcert us ; the aspirate was uncertain enough in the district and occurs in the very name Cardew, written also Carthew, both forms occurring about 1300 A.D.

In the remainder of the sentence it is plain that something has slipped out. " Swa deor " needs a " þ[æt] " to follow—" So audacious that he." This should come after

* The alternative is that this *i* is parasitic, which Mr. Plummer suggests, but I think less likely.

"þeaht" or after "gegyfen." And that it was after "gegyfen" appears to me plain by the words "to hem" which follow. I have looked through very many pages of Anglo-Saxon to try and discover instances of "gifan" being followed by "to." The result of this search, which has included looking through many charters, has been to discover the following law. *Gifan, forgifan* (grant), *sellan* (give), *unnan* (bequeath), and *geunnan* (concede) are followed by the dative of the persons to whom the gift is made—as is the case lower down in the charter "gyfene Thore," but when the grant is to a place for the sake of the people therein *to* or *into* follows, as it does in such an expression as "into the hands of." Thus "ic forgyfe . . to þaere halgan stowe aet Scireburnan" (Thorpe, 124),—I grant to the holy place at Shireburn. When it is to a church or a monastery it is also *into* that follows, as in Thorpe, pp. 191, 230, "se biscop gesealde þa hida into þaere cyricean" (gave the hides [land] to the church). But when the saint to whom the church or monastery was dedicated is named as the receiver, the dative returns, as in Thorpe, 368, "ic habbe gegyfen Criste & Sancte Petre into Westminster." It does this also when the community of the religious house is mentioned, as Thorpe, p. 477, "agefe þam hywum," and 579, "ic geann þ[æt] land þam hirede æt Cristes cyrcean"—the family or household.

These examples are of different ages and from different parts of the country and there are plenty more, and in one and the same charter may be found at times instances of the different constructions. "To hem" then cannot belong to "gegyfen," but must belong to the words which succeed them. And this use of "to" is but an expansion of the way in which it is used in "to Shauk to Wafyr, to poll Waðoen & to bek Troyte," which mark the limits of the district within which and towards which the freedom was granted—its boundaries; while "þeo weald æt Caldebek" was within that region, and has the subtle

distinction that therefore "to" is not affixed to it. Breaking the "grid to hem" (in regard to him) was breaking it in his direction—towards him, in regard to him, and is a kindred use of "to."

The two words by which I supply the omission after "gegyfen" are "þ[æt] he," and take up no space which would disturb the line, i.e. they might very easily have been left out. "Ne ghar brech" as it is, could not have been written by one to whom Anglo-Saxon was his native tongue. The words evidently take the place of "nahwar" or "nahwaer brece" (subjunctive): the *ch* can hardly be a mistake for the indicative singular ending þ in this case. And this seems to me to suggest that the writer of the original deed was one who was of Keltic or mixed race and only knew Anglo-Saxon (in a dialect) as an acquired tongue. There is nothing extraordinary in this in such a district.*

"Gyrth" spelt with *th* instead of đ or þ is another anomaly. But *grid*, which it represents, was a Norse word, and it is noticeable that all the Norse and some Keltic words in the charter which have that combination *th* in them are not spelt with either þ or đ, but have *th* separate letters—Thorfynn for example and Thore and Wyberth and Kunyth. Waldeof had become naturalized amongst the Anglo-Danes. This seems to show that the *th* had a different sound, probably harder and stronger, and the different spelling cannot have belonged to the thirteenth century copy, but to the original. "Gyrth" has also the transposition of the vowel and liquid which entered into several place-names in Westmorland, where we find Mebrun and Meburn, Clibron and Cliburn. "Seo gyrth đyylc" has other anomalies; "grid" in Anglo-Saxon is neuter and "seo" feminine; "þeo," the usual form for "þe" in this charter, would have done, but the

* Though I quote from Thorpe only, I have consulted charters in Kemble's *Cod. Dipl.*, but the quotations from Thorpe seemed sufficient. All tell the same tale.

confusion of genders as well as of cases is quite explainable. "Gecyđet" is not the usual form, which is "gecyđed," but it reminds one of the Scottish termination "it" for *ed*—e.g., bobbit for bobbed— and moreover it is used in the charter of William of Normandy already quoted (Thorpe, 438). For "đyylc" (different from "þyylk" in the end of the charter) I can only suggest a fusion of þe (which) and ilca (the same, which same). *Ilk* still remains in Scotland, and the Lindisfarne St. Matthew, xxvii, 10, has "þa ilco" for "those," which would be an antecedent, it is true, but "þe" and þaer" " are used in Anglo-Saxon for antecedent and relative.

"Cefrelycc" is a difficulty which appears to show that the thirteenth century scribe nodded for a moment. The "ce" can only replace "swa" and can only have been possible after the practice was begun of sounding *c* soft before *e*.* This may have caused the slipping out of *c* at the end of "Combresc," and quite possibly the double *c* at the end of the adjectives ("freondlycc" etc. instead of *ce*) to keep the hard sound.

We must not be too particular in all instances in pouncing on Gospatrik's grammar. Here he means the adjective "freely" to apply to the receiver of the grant, but he uses it as if it applied to the giver. "Welkynn" answers to the Anglo-Saxon "wolcnum," but this would be rightly dative plural (the clouds or skies), and shows perhaps in the *e* a remnant of an old vowel-change of the plural; and "þeo" must be the indeclinable "þe," not a feminine, demonstrative; "đeorondder" for "đaerunder" again need excite no surprise.

The next sentence is characteristically Anglo-Saxon, except for the "hwylc" having the termination *-un*, which could only be used in a tongue imperfectly acquired. A parallel to the phrase is in a charter of Eadward the Confessor, Thorpe, 391, "and loc hwilc bisceop đarofer

* This had begun in the tenth century. See the New English Dict. under C.

byd þat hit beo him underþeod" (and look each bishop that is over it that he have it remain subject to him).

"Byn þar" is so extraordinary that something must have been omitted, and the easiest correction and the most natural is the insertion of the relative "þe" (who, which), which also would occupy the space apparently left easily and allows "bȳ," i.e. *byn*, as in the preceding instances in the charter, to be a part of the verb *to be* all through: i.e. "byn" for *beon*, and sets "bydann" right.

"Willann" I can take most easily for a personal name and not the verb. My reasons are that Willan(n) is known to have existed as a family name from at least the 14th century to the present day in Westmorland, and there is nothing in the earliest records wherein the name occurs to suggest that it was then new; and that the "swa" fits better thus to the general sense.* One has to remember that the greeting is to his "kynling & wassenas," and it is somewhat awkward to be telling them that they joined him in willing what he alone had the right to grant. The consent of the eldest son or heir was often expressed, but here, neither Gospatrik who succeeded to his earldom of Dunbar, nor Dolfin who succeeded to the lordship of Carlisle is mentioned. Were witnesses intended thus it would be an isolated example in a charter which is of the type of the usual Anglo-Saxon charters of the eleventh century. "Swa" expresses the amount of freedom granted, as enjoyed by himself and those he mentions.

"Myd bode and wytnesmann"—by proclamation and the vouching of the official who attested the overlord's will. This very word *witenesman* is used in Final Con-

* Besides which, to have the dative *eallun* playing the part of nominative, even in this charter with its strange *hyylkun*, would be too extraordinary. The name Willan[n] moreover occurs as a surname in Court Rolls of Mauds Meaburn, in the earliest that I have seen (of 1340) as Welane, in 1412 and in 1473 as Willane. It may be a variant of Weland. It should be remembered that Mauds Meaburn was the possession of Maud de Morville, whose husband's family, Veteripont, as well as her own father's had much connexion with Cumberland. Willan occurs as a surname in Cartmel in 1583, and in the Yorkshire border of Westmorland in 1659; also in the Kendal *Boke off Recorde* from 1575.

cords, 40 Henry III, Westmorland, for this kind of official appointed by the overlord for court baron, and fed at the expense of the under-tenant when on service in his locality.

"þyylk stoy" is for *þyylk stow* (i.e. *stoþ*), and though it is practically an antecedent to which a relative might follow, þyylk must have had the same origin as "đyylc" above, possibly with a different sound in the first letter. As a word it remained till Chaucer's days. In both these cases the *yy* cannot be an error for *wy*.

One practical conclusion from the charter is a fresh colour given to the *Distributio Cumberlandie* (Prescott, *Wetherhal*, 384). We learn that though Dolfin may have been expelled and Ranulf Meschin have been put into his place, Ranulf's gift of Allerdale to Waltheoff was only a reinstatement or a confirmation of what he must have held under Dolfin, and no new first grant. And all through the *Distributio* we may read something the like behind.

Attempt at producing the charter in more normal form.

Gospatrik gret ealle mine wassenas & hwilc mann freo & đrenge þe wunađ on eallum þam landum þe waeron Combresc & ealle mine kynling freondlyce & ic cyđe eow þ[æt] min unna is & full leaf þ[æt] Thorfynn mac Thore beo swa freo on eallan þinges þe beoþ mine on Alnerdall swa ænig mann beo ođđe ic ođđe ænyg mine wassenas on weald on freyđ on heyninga & æt eallum þingum þe beoþ on eorþe boenende & đaerunder, to Shauk to Wafyr to poll Wađoen to bek Troyte & þam wealde æt Caldebec & ic wille þ[æt] þa menn þe bidađ miđ Thorfynn æt Carđeu & Combeđeyfoch beon swa freols myđ him swa Mælmor & Thore & Sigolf waeron on Eadreades dagum, & ne beo nan mann swa dyrstig miđ þ[æt] ic hæbbe gegyfen þ[æt] he nahwaer brece þæt grid þe Eorl Syward & ic habbađ gecyđed him swa freolyce swa aenyg manne under wolcnum, & loc hwilc beon þe þar bidađ geyldfreo beo swa ic beo & swa Willann & Wallđeof & Wygande & Wyberth & Gamell & Kunyth & ealle mine kynling &

wassenas, & ic wille þ[æt] Thorfyn haebbe socna & sac & tol & team ofer eallum þam landum on Cardeu & on Combedeyfoch þ[æt] waeron gyfene Thore on Morynes dagum freols myd bode & wytnesmann on þa ylcan stowe.

II.—Charter of Huctred (Uctred) son of Fergus to Richard son of Troite; between 1161 and 1174, probably about 1170.

Huctredus filius Fergusi omnibus hominibus suis et amicis, clericis et laicis, Francis et Anglicis et Galguensibus tam futuris quam presentibus salutem. Sciatis me dedisse et concessisse et hac mea carta confirmasse, concessu Rodlandi filii mei et heredis Ricardo filio Tructe et heredibus suis totam terram de Lochenelo cum rectis divisis suis quibus unquam aliquis eam habuit et tenuit melius et plenius et plenarius, ad tenendum de me et de heredibus meis pro servicio unius militis in feudo et hereditate sibi et heredibus suis et quam diu ego reddam chaan del cro et de defense, ioan dabit mihi per annum pro libero servicio suo octo libras argenti, quatuor ad pentecosten et quatuor ad festum Sancti Martini, et per hoc liber et quietus erit ab omni servicio et consuetudine apud regem Scotie et apud me et heredes meos; et cum liber et quietus fuero del chaan, libere et quiete teneat terram predictam per servicium unius militis. Quare volo et firmiter precipio ut predictam terram habeat et

Huctred son of Fergus to all his men and friends clerical and lay, French and English and Galwegian, as well those to come as those now living, health. Know ye that I have given and granted and by this my charter have confirmed, by consent of Roland my son and heir, to Richard, son of Troite and his heirs the whole land of Lochenelo with (in) its rightful bounds in which any one at any time had and held it to full and complete advantage. To him and his heirs to hold of me and my heirs in fee and heredity for the service of one knight. And so long as I (have to) render the payment for prosecution of crime (bloodshed) and defence he shall give me yearly for his free service eight pounds of silver, four at Pentecost and four at Martinmas, and by this he shall be free and quit of all service and customary dues with the King of Scotland and with me and my heirs. And when I shall be freed and quit from the payment he shall hold freely and quietly the aforesaid land

CHARTER OF HUCTRED SON OF FERGUS.

Phot. by A. J. Brummitt.

TO FACE P. 218.

teneat cum omnibus pertinentiis et libertatibus eidem terre pertinentibus, libere et quiete in bosco et in plano in monasteriis in molendinis in aquis in stagnis in paschuis in pannagiis in sallinis in harenis in pischariis in viis in semitis in venatibus omnium bestiarum in portubus in haeribus ancipitrum et omnium aliarum avium et in omnibus libertatibus et proficuis eedem terre pertinentibus. His testibus. Christiano episcopo Roberto archidiacono suo Gilleberto capellano Johanne nepote suo Thoma clerico de Torpenneu. Roberto clerico vicecomitis, Roberto filio Tructe, Bernardo Flandrensi Willo. et Nicholao nepotibus suis Ada nepote Roberti filii Tructe, Roberto filio Sungeve, Radulpho clerico de Carliol, David filio Teri, Normanno obside, Nicholao filio David Agustino fratre suo, Hivone de Stoches, Willo. filio Renboldi Herberto filio Hugonis maraschaldi, Willo. de Cantelu[p], Andrea de Dunfrees Henrico filio Hodardi, Willo. clerico de Louchamaban, Simone fratre Ricardi Marchaldi, Gille Catphara, Gilleberto filio suo, Gillemore Albanac, Gille Cohel, Macherne cum multis aliis.

by the service of one knight. Wherefore I will and firmly order that he shall have and hold the aforesaid land with all the belongings and liberties pertaining to the same land, in undisturbed freehold: in woodland and cleared land, in minsters and mills in streams in ponds in meadows and pastures in pannages and salt pans in sand banks and fisheries, in roads and ways and rights of hunting all beasts of the chase, in havens, in aeries of hawks and all other birds, in all liberties and profits pertaining to the same land. As witness these:—Christian the bishop, Robert his Archdeacon, Gilbert the chaplain, John his nephew, Thomas the clerk of Torpenhow, Robert the sheriff's clerk, Robert son of Troite, Bernard le Fleming, William and Nicholas his nephews, Adam nephew of Robert son of Troite, Robert son of Sungeva, Ralf the clerk, of Carlisle, David son of Terri, Norman the hostage, Nicholas son of David, Augustine his brother, Ivo de Stoches, William son of Reinbold, Herbert son of Hugh the Marshal, William de Cantelu(p), Andrew de Dumfries, Henry son of Hodard, William the clerk of Lochmaban, Simon brother of Richard the Marshall, Gillecatfar, Gilbert his son, Gilmor Albanach, Gilcohel, Macherne, with many others.

This charter's greatest interest is, I think, its dating from the transition period when the old Keltic * services to the sovereign and the superior lords were being changed into the feudal tenure of military service. Skene's history (*Celtic Scotland*, iii, ch. 6) has much dissertation about what went on during this change in Scotland. But it took place not only in Scottish but early English tenures, Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Danish ; and the analogies between the changes in Galloway and in Westmorland and Cumberland are best realized by comparing both.

The old Keltic services were Cáin (Chaan) and Conveth, Feacht and Sluaged. Cáin and Conveth were imposts on produce from land, which was grain from arable, and pigs and cattle from pasture. Cáin was the revenue of the sovereign (beyond that, I suppose, from his private demesne) for his general support and that of his regal position, his court and formal dignity. Conveth was a special application of this in addition, namely supply for the King or his representative in the journeys taken from place to place within his dominions to hear pleas and give judgments and to carry on administration of law. It would now be described as supply for civil service, and the amount due from anyone liable to the tax was for maintenance and hospitality for the night or nights when the King's administrative court was in the neighbourhood of the payer. Like the Cáin it was a current tax, but less in amount. The other services, feacht and sluaged, were in reality one in two names, the Latin equivalents of which were *expeditio* and *exercitus*, that is defence of the realm or the King's service in attack of another sovereign. Put together they were called *servitium Scotticum*. In England they were called hosting and expedition. But I think that "defense" can hardly refer to this.

The change to feudal tenure was to tenure on other

* I use the term Keltic as the general term of those races, which comprised the Cymry, the Gael, the Breton and the Erse, without necessarily implying that all the usages discussed belonged to all alike.

terms than the payment of Cáin and Conveth; namely to possession by duty of military service. In Cumberland and Westmorland this was termed cornage and it carried with it not only homage and fealty to each immediate superior by one and other up to the chief lord, but a small payment made half-yearly in acknowledgment of the superior lord's right. But the old dreng tenures were not all changed to this in these two counties; some were carried on as socage tenures, that is, hereditary tenures held by payment of true rent, "alba firma," assayed silver. It does not follow that the owners of these were not liable to military service, but those owning in cornage held their land on the condition of military service only and, I suppose, paid smaller dues on the strength of that. Both tenures were liable to a secondary tax as an intermittent demand called subsidy. The earlier English services were analogous to the Keltic: namely the feorm parallel to Cáin and Conveth, and the fyrd, which was the expedition and hosting.

In the change to feudal service in Scotland, as I understand Skene, the transition was intervalled through the stage of feodiferma, and the feudal service only reached its climax in the times of the Balliols and the Bruces. The transition, feodi ferma, feu-farm, was practically much the same as the socage holding of Westmorland and Cumberland, a perpetual rent for a holding which was heritable, but it was held *in capite*, and certain duties of liability to the expedition and the defence of the realm were attached.

Besides these services and revenues the sovereigns in England and probably Scotland had dues from tolls and such things as mines and saltworks and heriots and proceeds from courts of law and the goods of felons and outlaws, and the penalties exacted on a district for "murdrum" (homicide and blood letting): this last in Keltic seems to have been called *cro*. These dues were supple-

mentary to the expenses of administration and of enforcing the orderliness understood as the King's peace. Whether all these belonged to the purely Gaelic part of Scotland I do not know, but Galloway was a borderland and coast land possessed by different races and dominations, Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-Dane, Norse from Norway probably, and the Hebrides and Ireland, and lastly from Normandy, and all this admixture with the original Gael was likely to result in assimilation from something of all, and as the terms in these charters shew from the latest, Norman French.

In Huctred's charter, Conveth is not mentioned and Chaan has come to be a general word for tax or impost. For it has not only to include Conveth but is applied to the payment for "cro." In the change which Huctred shows he was anticipating, it seems as if he expected the grant from the Scottish King of what in England would be called "sac and soc, and toll and team" and its accompaniments, as granted to the greater barons, amounting to extensive rights of jurisdiction and the profits of these; in which case he would not have to transfer these profits and pay the "chaan del cro" to the Scottish King.

This sets one thinking. In the charter of Gospatrik, which belonged to the region of the Strathclyde sub-kingdom, lying next to Galloway, the earl in possession was able to grant these to a holder under him; this, Gospatrik would do as a scion of the Scottish house, and as ruler of what was Cumbrian, the relics on the English side of Strathclyde. But Huctred's charter, though granting rights and liberties even in salt pans and the chace and aeries and havens (i.e. tolls), as if almost a sovereign, makes no mention of the administration dues, and it looks as though up to that point the lords of Galloway possessed these only in a restricted way and could not grant them out, and were expecting extension of their power.

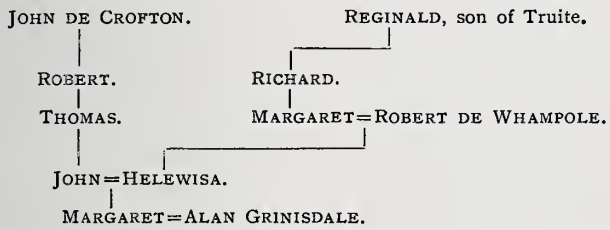
The expression "chaan del cro et de defense, ioan" is difficult. It seems at first to be in two languages if not in three. "Del" coming in the first part suggests Norman French as one of these, but the "de" might be confusion with Latin. I have looked up Gaelic dictionaries in vain to find any word to answer to "ioan" and have come finally to the conclusion that as in other cases of which I have now some proof, this charter must have been one of two copies, the one written for the grantor's custody and his heirs, the other for the grantees, and that the word ioan is a scribal error in copying out. I have found pretty certain evidence that grantors could not always have made sure that the contents of their charters which most of them could not read were accurate in every particular, though the main points were made sure. And the word "ioan" takes the place of an evidently needed "tam diu": probably "ioan" was written instead of "tam," and "diu" was missed. And as the word "cro" stands so clearly for the seigniorial claim to penalties for crime it should be possible to take "de defense" for the claim to the profits of granting defence and legal administration in the courts: these cases were always expensive as those of the appellant were, and implied profits for the rulers. And the whole intention of the sentence is that for these seigniorial profits which Huctred held as a grant from the King he was paying a toll, but hoped to be set free by having the grant as a franchise, and when that happened he would not exact the eight pounds of silver. From Skene and from the Holyrood chartulary I have been able to learn much as well as from Sir Herbert Maxwell and from Agnew's *Hereditary Sheriffs of Galloway*, but nothing to elucidate this point.

Richard son of Troite to whom the charter was granted, was a brother of Robert son of Troite whose name Chancellor Prescott (*Register of Wetherhal*) reminds us occurs as sheriff of Cumberland from 1158 to 1173. Richard's

name appears in the Pipe Rolls of 5 Richard I (1193-4); but it does not follow from that that he was living still, only that his debt had not been discharged. His son had seisin of Gamelsby in 10 Richard I which makes his death before then certain. Denton in his "Accompt" shows that he had reason to assume or believe relationship between the families of de Troite and de Karliol. And we may be certain that there was a marriage between them, though we may not be able to give the particulars. A descendant of Hildred de Karliol, though probably not of de Troite, was Cristina de Ireby wife of Robert de Brus (Prescott, p. 147). But a point which strikes me as worthy of notice is that apparently Tructa (Troite) is a woman's name, and if so the instance seems one of the survival of the Keltic custom of carrying down remembrance of relationship, in amongst the predominating Norse and Norman custom of patronymics which surrounded it and extinguished it. Nor is it the only instance I have met with.

Of the witnesses Christian was Bishop of Whitherne from 1154; he died in 1186 (Prescott, *Wetherhal*, p. 85). Norman "obses" whoever and whatever he was witnessed also a charter of Adam son of Swain giving Kirk Andrew to Wetherhal, as also did Augustine son of David whose brother attests here (Prescott, p. 311). David son of Turri occurs as a donor of a Galloway church to Holyrood in a confirmation of the gift by John, Bishop of Whitherne and one by William King of Scots to Holyrood (*Charters of Holyrood*, pp. 39, 40). John became Bishop of Whitherne in 1189. Gilbertus capellanus witnesses a charter of Bishop Christian confirming the gift of Dunrod church to Holyrood (*Charters of Holyrood*, p. 20). Gillemore Albanach is witness to a gift by Uchtred son of Fergus and Gunhild, of Torpenneth church to Holyrood (*ibid.*, p. 20). Gillecatfar collectaneus Uchtredi (foster brother of Uchtred) is witness to Uchtred's gift of the church of Colmanele to Holyrood (*ibid.*, p. 19).

The way in which the Denton family acquired this charter and also that of Edward de Brus is given by a pedigree amongst the remaining Denton MSS., I think in the handwriting of one of the Dentons :—



Some of the Grinisdale property was acquired either immediately or after passing through other hands by the Denton family. The Holm Cultram charter came through Whampole, the Huctred charter from de Truite.

III.—Charter of Edward de Brus, Lord of Galloway, to Holm Cultram.

Edwardus de Brus, dominus Galwidie universis Christi fidelibus [visuris] vel audituris salutem in Domino sempiternam. Noveritis me pro salute anime mee et omnium antecessorum et successorum meorum dedisse remisisse et omnino pro me et heredibus ac assignatis meis quietum clamasse religiosis viris, Abbati et Conventui de Holm [Cultram] [et] eorum successoribus illam annuam firmam decem librarum sterlingorum quam reddere solebant d[ominis] d[e

Edward de Brus, Lord of Galloway, to all Christ's faithful who shall see or hear this, everlasting health in the Lord. Know ye that I, for the health of my soul and of the souls of all my ancestors and successors, have granted, remitted and entirely quitclaimed for myself my heirs and assigns, to the religious, the Abbot and Convent of Holm Cultram and their successors that yearly payment of ten pounds sterling which they were wont to make to the lords of Bothel*

* Or, less probably, Buittle.

B[otil] [pro terris] suis quas habent apud Kirke Wynny in Galwidia in liberam et perpetuam elemosinam ex d[onacione et] concessione Rolandi filii Huctredi et aliorum donatorum: ita quod nec ego dictus Edwardus nec aliquis heredum aut assignatorum meorum nec aliquis alius in dicta annua firma aliquid de cetero exigere potuerimus nec vendicare. In cujus rei testimonium hoc presens scriptum sigilli mei impressione roboravi.

for their lands which they have at Kirkewynny [Kirkgunzion] in Galloway, in frec and perpetual alms, by the gift and grant and concession of Roland son of Huctred and other donors: So that neither I, the said Edward, nor any of my heirs or assigns nor any one else will be able to make any claim henceforth in the said yearly payment. In attestation of which I have fortified this present writing with the impression of my seal.

The seal has the early Brus shield, a saltire and chief.

The text in the gaps is restored by the great kindness of Chancellor and Archdeacon Prescott from a copy of the Holm Cultram Chartulary in the British Museum. This charter is not given in the Carlisle copy; but Huctred's charter in that, Chancellor Prescott tells me, grants the Kirkwynny lands subject to the £10 payment to the lords of Botil. This looks as though the lords of Bothel (or Buittle?) held lands in Kirkgunzion out of which Uchtred's grant was made and that the payment reserved something of their rights. The means by which this charter came into possession of the Denton family I have already alluded to.

IV.—Letter Patent of Edward de Balliol, King of Scots from 29 Sept. 1332 till 20 Jan. 1356, containing a grant to John de Denton.

Edwardus Dei gratia rex Scottorum omnibus ad quos presentes literc pervenerint

Edward by the grace of God King of the Scots to all to whom the present letters come,

salutem. Sciatis nos dedisse concessisse et hac presenti carta nostra confirmasse dilecto valetto nostro Johanni de Denton pro bono et laudabili servicio suo nobis impenso et impendendo forestam de Garnery que fuit Willi Glasguensis episcopi cum pertinentiis inimici et rebellis nostri et que per forisfacturam ejusdem Episcopi ad manus nostras jam devenerit, habendam et tenendam eidem Johanni et heredibus suis de corpore suo legitime procreatis de nobis et heredibus nostris per servitia inde debita et de jure consueta, ac etiam secundum legem et consuetudinem regni nostri Scotie in valore 20 marcarum per annum, et si quid ultra extentam predictam inveniatur nobis et heredibus nostris remaneat. Ita tamen quod dicta foresta cum pertinentiis non sit de corona seu hereditate nostra nec alicui vel aliquibus ante hec tempora per nos donata, ac salvo jure cujuslibet. In cujus rei testimonium huic presenti carte nostre sigillum nostrum privatum apponi fecimus. Datum apud insulam de Estholium xxi die Sept. anno regni nostri sexto decimo.

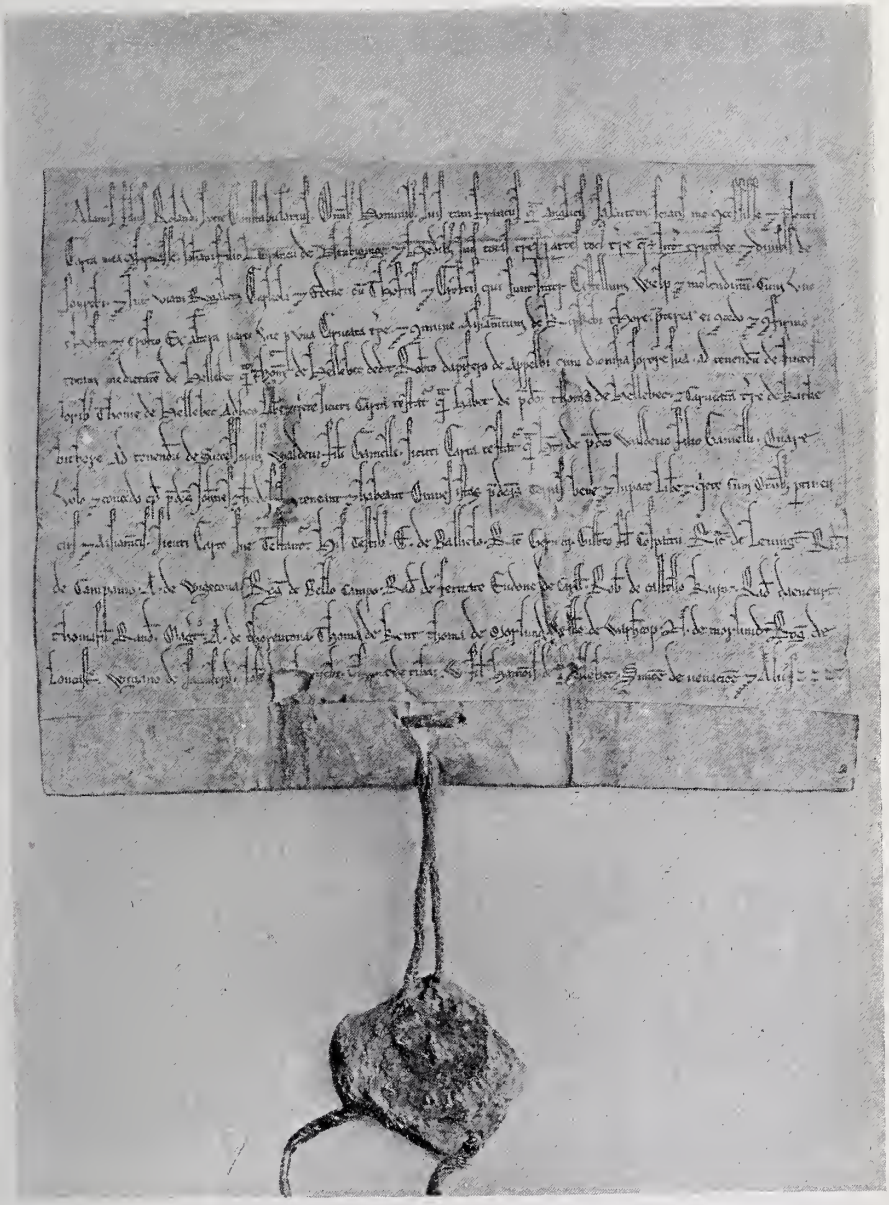
health. Know ye that we have given and granted and by this present charter of ours have confirmed to our beloved servant John de Denton for his good and praiseworthy service, given and to be given, the forest of Garnery which with all its belongings was possessed by William, bishop of Glasgow, an enemy and rebel against us, and which by forfeiture of the same bishop came into our hands: to be had and held by the same John and the heirs of his body lawfully engendered, of us and our heirs by the services therefrom owed and customary, and also according to the law and custom of our Kingdom of Scotland, in value of 20 marks yearly, and if any value beyond this is discovered it shall remain to us and our heirs. Provided also that the said forest with its belongings shall not be crown possessions nor hereditary nor shall have been granted by us before this to any one or more persons; and reserving every one's right. In attestation of which we have caused our privy seal to be affixed to this present charter. Given at the isle of Eastholm on the 21st of September in the 16th year of our reign [1347].

A fine seal; the Scottish lion and bordure, and the inscription "Edwardus dei gratia rex Scotorum."

V.—Charter of Alan, son of Roland, Lord of Galloway and Constable of Scotland, to John de Newbigging; of date between 1199 and 1225.

Alanus filius Rolandi Scotie Constabularius Omnibus hominibus suis tam Franciis quam Anglicis, Salutem. Sciatis me confirmasse Johanni filio Laurantii de Neubiging et heredibus suis totas tres partes tocius terre que est inter Trutebec et divisas de Sourebi et inter viam regalem Carleoli et Edene cum thoftis et croftis qui sunt inter Castellum Welp et molendinum, cum uno tofto et crofto ex altera parte vie, pro una carucata terre, et commune aisiamentum de Kirkebi Thore. Preterea ei concedo et confirmo totam medietatem de Hellebec quam Thomas de Hellebec dedit Roberto, dapifero de Appelbi, cum Dionisia sorore sua ad tenendum de successoribus Thome de Hellebec adheo libere et quiete sicuti carta testatur quam habet de predicto Thoma de Hellebec et carucatam terre de Kirkebi Thore ad tenendum de successoribus Waldevi filii Gamelli sicuti carta testatur quam habet de predicto Waldevo filio Gamelli. Quare volo et concedo quod predictus Johannes et heredes sui teneant et habeant omnes istas predictas terras bene et in pace libere et quiete cum omnibus pertinentiis et aisiamentis,

Alan son of Roland, Constable of Scotland, to all his men French as well as English—health. Know ye that I have granted and by my present charter have confirmed to John son of Laurence de Newbigging and his heirs the whole of the three parts of all the land which is between the Troutbeck and the boundaries of Sowerby and between the King's highway to Carlisle and the Eden, together with the tofts and crofts which are between Whelp's Castle and the mill, and one toft and croft on the other side of the road; (to be held) as 1 carucate of land: and the easement (rights) of common of Kirkby Thore. I concede besides and confirm the whole moiety of Helbeck which Thomas de Helbeck gave to Robert, seneschal of Appleby with Dionisia his sister, to be held of the successors of Thomas de Helbeck as freely and securely as the charter which he holds of the aforesaid Thomas de Helbeck testifies, and the carucate of land at Kirkbythore to be held of the successors of Waltheof son of Gamel, as the charter which he holds of the aforesaid Waltheof son of Gamel testifies. Wherefore



CHARTER OF ALAN SON OF ROLAND.

Phot. by Reeds, Penrith.

TO FACE P. 228.

sicuti carte sue testantur. Hiis Testibus. E. de Ballielo, Ric. Gernun, Gilberto filio Cospatricii, Ric. de Levington, Rad. de Campano, A. de Wigetona, Rog. de Bello Campo, Rad. de Feritate, Eudone de Carll., Rob. de Castello Kairuc, Rad. Daencurt, Thoma fil Rand., Mag^ro A. de Thorentona, Thoma de Kent, Thoma de Morlund, Willo de Warth-(e)cop, H. de Morlund, Rog. de Loncastra, Wigano de Saunford, Joh. de [ ]nebi, Thoma de Tibai, W. fil. Hamonis de Hellebec, Simone de venatione et aliis.

I will and grant that the aforesaid John and his heirs shall hold and have all the aforesaid lands in good and peaceful tenure free and undisturbed, together with all belongings and easements just as the charters testify. As witness these. E[ustace] de Baliol, Richard Gernon, Gilbert son of Cospatrick, Richard de Levington, Ralf de Campano, A. de Wigton, Roger de Beauchamp, Ralf de Feritate, Eudo de Carlisle, Robert de Castle Carrock, Ralf Deyncurt, Thomas son of Randolf, Mr. A. de Thornton, Thomas de Kent, Thomas de Morland, William de Warcop, H. de Morland, Roger de Lancaster, Wigan de Sandford, John de [ ]by, Thomas de Tebay, W. son of Hamo de Helbeck, Simon of the hunt and others.

Whelp's Castle in Kirkby Thore is mentioned by Camden as " Wheallep-castle " in *Britannia* (edition of 1600) and is also marked on the map of Westmorland by Moll. Hodgson, born at Swindale, 1780, in his *History of Westmorland* says it was also called the Burwens, and it was, I suppose the remains of the Roman Castra there, probably made use of by Welp, father of Gamel, whose son Waltheoff is one of the owners mentioned in the charter, whom it is tempting to think of as a descendant or of the family of one of the men mentioned in Gospatrik's charter who was settled so little distance away. And the Castra served as his chief messuage on the Roman road, known it seems as the *via regalis*, the highway across North Westmorland to Carlisle.

As to the witnesses, E. de Balliol was, I think, the earlier Eustace; Richard Gernon was the husband of Joan de Morville, daughter of Hugh de Morville, forester of Cumberland from 6 Henry II to about 4 John. Gilbert son of Gospatrik (son of Orm) was Gilbert de Southaic. Richard de Levington succeeded Adam de Levington in 1211. A. de Wigton is Adam de Wigton who died 1225 (Prescott's *Wetherhal*, p. 146). Roger de Beauchamp, second husband of Grecia, whose first husband was Thomas son of Gospatrik son of Orm. Ralf de Feritate was son of Gamel le Brun or Bruneson. Eudo de Carliolo was son of Adam (Prescott, p. 150). Robert de Castel Cairock, the first Robert of the name (Prescott, p. 103). Ralf Deyncurt was son of Gervase, owner of Sizergh. Thomas son of Randolf may possibly be a son of Randolf de Dacre, mentioned in the Pipe Roll of Cumberland of 1212. Thomas de Morland was an incumbent who remained there as late as 1230. William de Warcopp, brother possibly of Alan of the Pipe Roll of 1198. W. son of Hamon de Helbeck, possibly Wido, whose name occurs in the Pipe Rolls of King John.

The date of the charter must be between 1199 and 1225, the succession of Alan and the death of Adam de Wigton. This Thomas de Helbeck of the charter, the first we know of who owned that name, would not have granted a moiety of Helbeck to a daughter on her marriage if he had a son to be his heir, but the terms of the grant leave his "successors" in possession of the manorial rights though they would not have the immediate profits and usufruct of this moiety. The arrangement ultimately would be much like the later Musgrave and Helbeck arrangement, to which I hope to come later; in this the Musgrave manor continued in Musgrave manorial ownership and did not go down to the Helbeck descendants of the Musgrave heiress who married the later Thomas de Helbeck. It is possible that Hamo was brother of the

first Thomas, and that through Wido his son the Helbeck descent was carried on.

The Galloway Lordship of North Westmorland.

This charter of Alan son of Roland who succeeded his father as Constable of Scotland in 1199, which Mr. Dayrell Crackenthorp has most kindly had photographed for publication, has an especial interest, inasmuch as it is an overlord's confirmation of grants of land made by two of the manorial lords who were his feoffees to a third manorial lord also his feoffee, and is one of those evidences of the exercise in action of rights of overlordship which were required in the Inquests of Edward I detailed in de Quo Warranto to be shown as proof of use. This lordship over North Westmorland I was able only to suggest as being an extreme probability in Cumberland and Westmorland *Transactions*, N.S., vol. xii, 384-5, there being little further evidence of it then than an entry in Assize Roll 981 of a statement of claim to it, with no reasons shown in the Roll and no pleadings recorded. It was the claim to that barony by Margaret de Ferrers, Ela de la Zouche, Elizabeth Countess of Buchan, and Devorgil wife of John de Balliol, against Isabel wife of Roger de Clifford and Idonea wife of Roger de Leyburn, daughters of Robert de Veteripont.

I can now venture from this charter to give it its name as the Galloway Lordship of North Westmorland. Alan, lord of Galloway, the grantor, is shown as exercising this right, which he was able to do as heir to his mother Eva daughter of Richard de Morville; and through Alan the claim set forth on p. 385 of the volume just mentioned. came, and my provisional scheme of the Morville descent receives its justification thereby. Later on, after Alan's time the rights of his descendants in Westmorland seem to have dwindled down to a solitary manor, Mauds Mea-

burn, where the shrunken lordship was carried on, in a sort of purparty between one of them and the Veteripont as late as 6 Edward I, 1278. But there is now sufficient proof of the existence of this lordship, few though the evidences are. They came down in the end to such instances as these :—A claim by John le Fraunceys (C. & W. *Transactions*, N.S., xi, p. 321) to be released from de Balliol service which ought to be done by de Veteripont intermediate between him and Balliol (*Curia Regis Roll*, 142, membrane 18d) ; and the Inquisitiones post mortem of Gilbert le Fraunceys, (*a*) in 6 Edward I viz.: C. Edward I 18(9) and (*b*) C. Edward I 33/8 of 11 Edward I. In one of these de Balliol is recognized as in part, in the other as wholly, the overlord.

And the unsettlement of things by King John's action in granting to the Veteripont husband of a Morville, who was not the right Morville heir, the lordship in the guise of hereditary shrievalty may possibly be the explanation of the series of actions in law courts, and of those Final Concords which we find recorded as if to give legal assurance to Veteripont ownership. For instance in 19 Henry III between Hugh and Gilbert de Cabergh and John de Veteripont for common of pasture ; between James de Morton and John de Veteripont for 30 acres of woodland, between Robert de Helbeck and John de Veteripont for the manor of Sowerby and 60 acres in Helbeck ; bewteen Thomas de Musgrave and John de Veteripont for 30 acres in Murton ; and between Thomas and Agnes Boet and John de Veteripont for 9 acres of land in Waitby.

Other claims and agreements are mentioned by Dodsworth and Hodgson ; and we are reminded of the series of similar cases which followed the grant by William de Lancaster the last, to his half brother Roger, not his heir and not of de Lancaster blood, of the barony of Barton in Westmorland, as will be seen in a future paper.

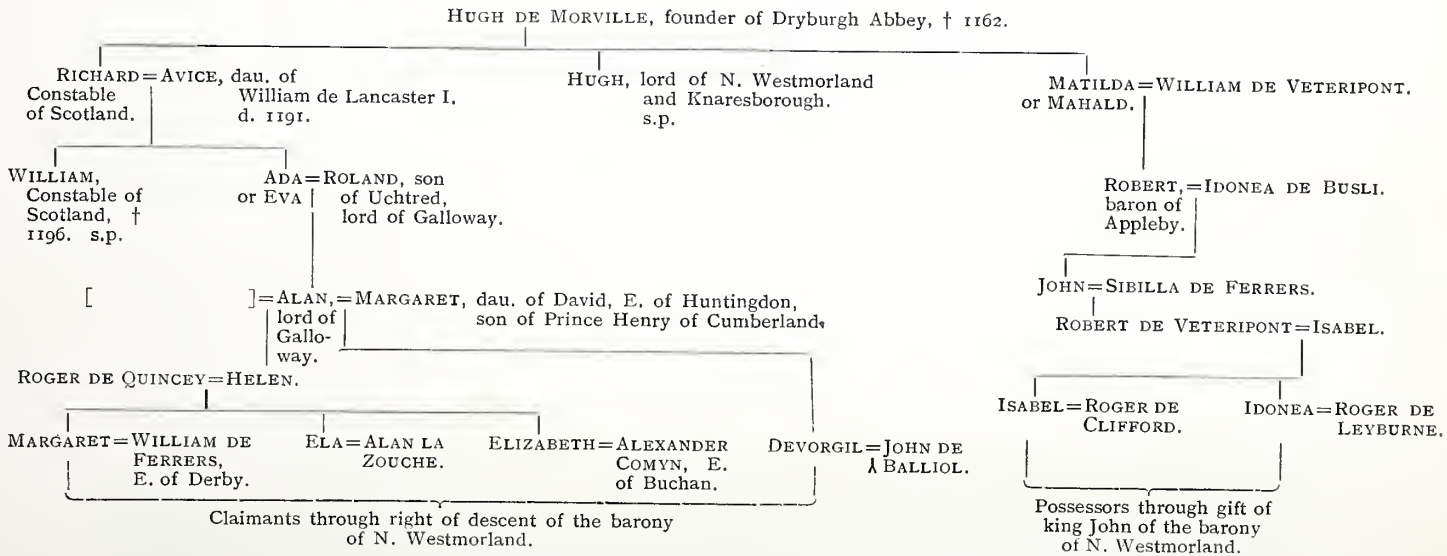
Incidentally, working at this charter has thrown light

on a matter, mentioned in C. & W. *Transactions*, N.S., xi, 321, which was unexplainable then. John le Fraunceys (Assize Roll 1046 of 1251 A.D.) held land also of John de Balliol in Leicestershire, and he held a moiety of the manor of "Soureby in Farnes in Galewayth." From the Chartulary of Holyrood, p. 40, it turns out that there was a deanery of Farenes in Galloway whose dean William witnesses a confirmation by Bishop John of Whitherne of advowsons granted to Holyrood, and it is easy to see from this that Soureby in Farnes was the modern Sorbie in Wigtonshire. This is the only record of a le Fraunceys holding in that county and we can now fairly add this to that of Castle Sowerby in Cumberland as held by that family. These, John de Balliol's possessions, derived from his Scottish descent, in three different parts of Great Britain came to him in different ways. The Leicestershire possession was almost certainly part of the inheritance of Devorgil his wife by her descent from David, Earl of Huntingdon, grandson of David I King of Scotland; the Galloway portion through her descent from Alan lord of Galloway, and the Westmorland portion through her descent from the Morville family whose heiress Roland son of Uchtred, lord of Galloway, had married.

I append (p. 234) a portion of the de Morville pedigree which is necessary to make clear the descent and the claim.

For leave to publish matter contained in this paper, my best thanks are due to the Earl of Lonsdale and to Mr. Dayrell Crackenthorpe; also to Mr. W. Little, Mr. R. Robinson and Mr. R. H. Bailey for kindnesses and help.

[Note to pp. 219, 224. Bernard le Fleming (Flandrensis), witness to Charter II, is mentioned by Denton (*Accompt*, 142) as owner of Leversdale in Gilsland.]


HUGH DE MORVILLE, founder of Dryburgh Abbey, † 1162.
RICHARD = AVICE, dau. of William de Lancaster I. d. 1191.
Constable of Scotland.
HUGH, lord of N. Westmorland and Knaresborough. s.p.
MATILDA = WILLIAM DE VETERIPONT.
or MAHALD.
WILLIAM, Constable of Scotland, † 1196. s.p.
ADA = ROLAND, son of Uchtred, lord of Galloway.
or EVA
ROBERT, = IDONEA DE BUSLI.
baron of Appleby.
JOHN = SIBILLA DE FERRERS.
[ ] = ALAN, = MARGARET, dau. of David, E. of Huntingdon, son of Prince Henry of Cumberland.
lord of Gallo-way.
ROBERT DE VETERIPONT = ISABEL.
ROGER DE QUINCEY = HELEN.
MARGARET = WILLIAM DE FERRERS, E. of Derby.
ELA = ALAN LA ZOUCHE.
ELIZABETH = ALEXANDER COMYN, E. of Buchan.
DEVORGIL = JOHN DE BALLIOL.
ISABEL = ROGER DE CLIFFORD.
IDONEA = ROGER DE LEYBURNE.
Claimants through right of descent of the barony of N. Westmorland.
Possessors through gift of king John of the barony of N. Westmorland.

ART. XII.—*The First Days of Carlisle.* By Professor F. HAVERFIELD, LL.D., D.Litt., F.S.A., F.B.A., President; and D. ATKINSON, B.A.

Read at Carlisle, April 26th, 1917.

I.

I ONCE paid the visit which all Englishmen pay some time or other to the birthplace of Shakespeare, at Stratford-on-Avon, and as I came out of the rather over-labelled house, I heard another visitor say, as he (or she) emerged with me: "Well, the poor man had to be born somewhere." The speaker meant, I think, to suggest that our interest in spots connected with inevitable incidents in the lives of great men was apt to be exaggerated, and that, as the poet had to be born somewhere and took only a passive part in the ceremony, other things might be of more importance than the precise house where it occurred. Nevertheless, such interest is natural, and I should consider it reasonable if citizens of Carlisle desired to know precisely when Carlisle began.

Recent progress made in the study of Roman pottery found in this island seems to render it feasible to define this date with somewhat more certainty than formerly, and the result may interest the readers of our *Transactions.* It is, I am glad to say, no very revolutionary result. The late Chancellor Ferguson, in his genial *History of Cumberland* (London, 1890, p. 100, ch. vi), thinks that there was no pre-Roman Carlisle; the place first became inhabited (he suggests) in Roman days and indeed about the time of Agricola (governor of Britain A.D. 77 or 78-84), who built, he thinks, a fort at Stanwix, suburbs of which soon sprang up on the Cathedral Hill of Carlisle, west of

the river. Others have held similar views. For the most part, however, these theories have lacked definite proof; they have been based on general strategic considerations of the advance of the Roman armies and are largely a priori. Two further lines of argument seem to be open now which yield more trustworthy conclusions, and suggest that as a Roman site Carlisle really began with Agricola, about A.D. 78-82.

(A). Ancient writers give us certain historical details. In the first place, the geographer Ptolemy, though he does not actually mention Luguvallium, as Carlisle was then called, makes it plain that it lay near, and possibly even beyond, the northern or north-western limit of the canton of the Brigantes. Now this canton, according to Tacitus (Agr. xvii, 2), was first subdued, but not at all completely, by the general Petilius Cerealis,* who governed Britain from A.D. 71 to 74. This indicates that a town, which lay in or near the northern part of Brigantian territory, could hardly have come within Roman reach before 74, since the attack of Cerealis, being made from the south, must have affected, mainly if not solely, the southern part of that area, of which it touched only a portion. But if Cerealis, according to Tacitus, hardly reached the neighbourhood of Carlisle, still less can his successor, Iulius Frontinus, have done so, since he was entirely occupied with fighting in Wales. Now Frontinus was succeeded by Agricola, who came out in the summer of 77 or 78 †; therefore the literary evidence which has come down to us, and which is in the main contemporary, tends to show that Carlisle was not reached at least till the governorship of Agricola.

(B). Further evidence can be got from archæology.

* Also spelt Petillius Cerialis on good authority. It is not easy to decide which forms should be used.

† It is not easy to decide between these two dates. Recent writers tend to favour 77, but the point is one on which it would be rash to dogmatize. It does not affect my present argument.

In 1890, part of an inscribed tile was found in Fisher Street, Carlisle (it is now in Tullie House Museum, O.M. 134). The reading of this tile is imperfect and uncertain,* but it seems to indicate the presence in Roman Carlisle of a Roman legion or cohort, which ceased to be in Britain comparatively early; and it therefore points, though only obscurely, to an occupation of Carlisle by some general of more or less Agricolan date. The evidence of this tile is strongly reinforced by pottery in Tullie House which can hardly date after the later years of Agricola's governorship (A.D. 84-5). Of this datable ware, the Museum possesses several pieces, mostly found during the excavation for the cellars of Tullie House buildings. At the time of their discovery, about 1890-3, our knowledge of the chronology of Samian ware was still very scanty,† and the interest of the Carlisle potsherds was not at once understood. It was, however, realised before very long that the pieces in question were such as could not be later than Agricola (say, than about A.D. 80-85), and that they provided evidence similar to that of the inscribed tile, but more definite, that the site must have been occupied by Roman troops, bringing, as usual, their Samian along with them, as early as those years.

There is further evidence; the Roman potsherds in Tullie House have been overhauled lately by several English archæologists, notably by the late Lieut. Newbold, of Oxford, sometime classical lecturer at Newcastle, and by Mr. D. Atkinson, R.G.A., Research Fellow of Reading University College, as well as by Lieut. J. P. Bushe-Fox, F.S.A.; and, last, by Mr. Thomas May, F.S.A.; only

* See these *Transactions*, o.s., xii, 280; *Arch. Journal*, xlix, 199, inscription no. 166; *Eph. Epigr.*, ix, no. 1270.

† It dates from a paper by H. Dragendorff, *Bonner Jarhrb.*, xcvii (1895), pp. 18-155, and has since been much expanded by the late Jos. Déchelette in two fine volumes, issued in 1904. I take this opportunity of expressing my sense of the great loss which Roman archæology has sustained by the death of this eminent archæologist early in the present war.

Mr. Bushe-Fox has as yet, published his results.* They point out, as they could hardly help doing, that many of the Carlisle finds of 1892 foll. belong to the time of Agricola, but Mr. Bushe-Fox inclines to suggest that some pieces may be slightly earlier and perhaps connected with the campaigns of Petilius Cerealis in A.D. 71-4,† whom, accordingly, he would call the founder of Carlisle.

Now it is obviously not easy to decide on mere archæological evidence whether a place was founded in 73 or in 78. The dates are too close together to allow one to discriminate with any certainty. The development of pottery styles within five years cannot well have been very great. At the same time, probabilities, if not certainties, can be deduced from the stores of Tullie House, and at my request, Mr. D. Atkinson, whom I have named above, has revised the Carlisle evidence which he collected some time ago, and his notes on it are here appended (Section III). He has probably a better knowledge of the dating of Samian ware as found in this country than any other scholar who is available, and I do not doubt that, so far as is reasonably possible, he has exhausted the matter. Those who care to persevere further on the subject in Section III, will see that he makes out a strong archæological probability in favour of the view, that Carlisle was founded as a Roman post by Agricola rather than by his predecessor, and that probabilities favour the view which connects its origin with Agricola rather than with Cerealis. The agreement of many small probabilities, all pointing in the same direction, possesses real weight.

II.

I conclude, therefore, that we should assign the beginnings of Roman Carlisle to a famous name and to a

* Bushe-Fox, *Archæologia*, lxiv, 295-314, with useful plates. [Mr. May's Catalogue forms a preceding article in this volume.—Ed.]

† *Ibid*, lxiv, 311.

date about A.D. 77-80, or maybe a year or two later. It remains to add one word on two connected questions. First, was there a pre-Roman Carlisle? Chancellor Ferguson said 'no,' chiefly, I think, because very few pre-Roman objects have been found on the site. I do not feel clear that we have enough evidence to decide the matter. Hardly any Roman sites in Britain yield distinct traces of previous pre-Roman occupation; yet it is not to be supposed that before A.D. 43, when the Roman conquest seriously began, the Celts lived nowhere, or that they had no pottery or other detectable objects. For instance, Silchester, as we know from Samian and other ware found there, was inhabited some twenty or thirty years before A.D. 43; but for all that, hardly a single object of pre-Roman date has been found there, apart from these Samian potsherds, which came, I think, by way of trade from Italy, and are the products, not of Gaulish kilns, but of Arretine potters in Etruria, and apart also from two or three brooches and some early rude local wares. Of pre-Roman houses, such as occur in Gaul, Silchester has revealed no vestige whatever.

Carlisle, however, is geographically a place which is rather more likely to have been first noted and utilised by civilised man than by chance barbarians. If we look at its surroundings we see at once that it is connected with two important routes. (*i*)—Here is a point where travellers from the east can best cross the Eden and tributary streams and pass into western Cumberland. Here, too, on a rock overlooking the passage, is a strong place, easily defensible, which commands the little plain around the head of the Solway Estuary. (*ii*)—Here, too, one who comes from the south, as from Manchester by way of Shap, can easiest go forward across difficult rivers into southern Scotland. One can still trace in modern roads, etc., the old route from Carlisle northwards, and this route, if one may argue from its straightness, is of

Roman origin.* It climbed, as the high road climbs to-day, up Stanwix Bank; thence its line lies north, along (or near) the present Longtown Road. But before Gosling Bridge is reached, the modern line swerves a little to the left, so as to run west of and nearly parallel to the ancient straight line; the Stanwix cemetery, Kingstown brick-works, and the like, lie between the two, and the ancient line is now represented mainly by a field-fence and a parish-boundary which runs very straight through Newfieldhead and the policies of Harker Grange. Further north, about Crosshill and Blackford, the old and the modern meet and run on together towards Longtown, not however, without further slight partings of company, and some uncertainties, into which I cannot now enter. This route practically follows a brief watershed between Scaleby Moss and the head of Solway; it thus, as far as the rivers Line and Esk, brings the travellers along ground that is, at least comparatively dry. It makes on me the impression—mainly because of its straightness—of a road laid down by the Romans, rather than of a native trail from Eskdale into Cumberland. Moreover, it brings the traveller close to the Roman fort at Netherby.

Secondly, what was the earliest Roman Carlisle? Standing on a border, as it has stood at almost all periods of its history, from the earliest days to the memory of men yet alive,† Carlisle has been essentially a border town, and almost always a stronghold. Here, forty years before Hadrian built his wall from Tyne to Solway, there must have been, at or near Carlisle, some sort of military station, and probably some road leading eastwards to the Tyne valley. We know that points in that valley

* See further in these *Transactions*, o.s., xv, 186. The route sometimes used in the eighteenth century from Carlisle to Scotland, 'Willie of the Boats,' cannot, I think, be Roman, though it is nearer the Roman line.

† The smuggling of Scottish whisky into Carlisle lasted, I believe, beyond the opening of the Caledonian Railway.

such as Corbridge (Corstopitum*) were occupied as early as Carlisle, that is, to say, in Agricolan days ; it is reasonable to assume that the Romans having reached thus far north on their east and west coast routes, joined the furthest point on each by a road. Traces of such a road seem to survive in the old, still discernible trail across the hills, called in the Middle Ages Carel-gate or Stanegate. It is difficult, west of the neighbourhood of Brampton, to follow the course of this road, nor is it wholly clear even in Northumberland, except west of the North Tyne, between Fourstones and Greenhead, but that some such road was made by the Romans about Agricola's time is fairly probable. We need not attribute to them the same carelessness about communications which prevailed in 1745, when General Wade lay at Newcastle, the Scots poured down on England by way of Carlisle, and, for want of a road fit for the passage of artillery, Wade was unable to get across the isthmus to stop their advance.

III.

(Note on the potter's stamps found in carlisle by D. Atkinson, R.G.A., formerly Research Fellow of University College, Reading.)

The following list of stamps of Samian pottery include—as far as I have been able to ascertain—all those which bear on the date of the earliest occupation of Carlisle.†

1 ALBANV (reversed) [18] T.H.
2 (A)VITIMA [31] with high kick.
3 OFCAI (reversed) [27] T.H.
4*a* OFCALVI [27], and dish with quarter-round fillet, T.H.
b OFCALVI [18] T.H.

* The quantity of the vowels, especially of the *i* in Corstopitum, seems undeterminable. The derivation of the name is disputed.

† The numbers between square [brackets] refer to the shapes of vessels on which the stamps occur. Those marked T.H. were found during the building of Tullie House Museum in 1892-3. The exact provenance of the others is unknown, but most or all of them were found in Carlisle itself.

5 OFCEN large [31] with roulette ring, T.H.
6 CIAΛ/ [29].
7 OFCOELI [29] T.H.
8 COSIRV [29] T.H.
9 COTT////F (reversed) [27] T.H.
10*a* OFCREST (reversed) [29], 2 exx, T.H.
b OFCREST [18].
11 CRVCVROF [33].
12 OFFLGE [27] T.H.
13 OFRONTI [18] T.H.
14*a* GERMANIOF [18] T.H.
b GERMA [27].
15 IVLLIΛ [ni] [18] T.H.
16 LOGI [rni] [18] T.H.
17 MARTIALIS [31] with roulette ring.
18 MEDETIM [18/31] Carlisle Gaol.
19*a* OMON [27] T.H.
b OMOW\O flat base.
20 OFMONTANF (second N reversed) [18] T.H.
21*a* NICEPHORF [18/31] T.H.
b NIC/ [18/31] T.H.
22*a* NIGRINI [29] T.H.
b OF NIGRN [18] (reading very doubtful).
23 OF PASSENI [29] 2 exx. T.H.
24 PATERCLOSFE [18/31].
25 OF PATRIC [18/31].
26*a* OF PONTI [18] T.H.
b OF. PO . . . [29] T.H. Probably the same as the preceding.
27 PRIMI.FE [18] T.H.
28 PVGNIM [31] with roulette ring.
29*a* OFRVFINI [29] T.H.
b OFRVF [27] 2 exx. T.H.
c OFRV [27] T.H., [29].
30 OFSAB [18] Carlisle Gaol.
31 SCOTNI [27].
32*a* SECVNDI D reversed [27] 2 exx, T.H.
b OF SECV [27].
33*a* OFSILVINI [27] T.H.
b /SILVINI [18] T.H.
c /LVINI [18] T.H. Presumably the same as the preceding.
34*a* OFVIRTVTIS [29].
b OF.VRTV [18] T.H,
35 OFVITA [18] T.H.

It is clear that, if stamps of the potters who appear in this list are elsewhere found on sites demonstrably connected with the advance of Agricola in Britain * or sites whose occupation began in the same or a later period, they cannot be used as evidence that Carlisle was occupied before 79. The following potters names occur on such sites † :—no. 4, CALVVS (Corbridge, four examples ; Camelon) ; no. 5, CEN . . . . ? (Corbridge, three examples) ; no. 8, COSIVS ET RVFINVS (Camelon, two examples) ; no. 10, CRESTVS (Corbridge, two examples) ; no. 11, CRVCVRO (Corbridge, three examples, Newstead) ; no. 12, FLAVIVS GERMANI (Stanwix), found on Hadrian's Wall, in a tomb at Séron, Belgium, with a coin of Hadrian and other stamps of the period 80-130 A.D. ‡) ; no. 13, FRONTINVS (Corbridge, three examples ; Newstead, two examples ; Camelon, two examples) ; no. 14, GERMANVS (Corbridge and Nether Denton) ; no. 16, LOGIRNVS § (Corbridge, tomb at Vervaz (Clavier), Belgium, along with a stamp of Calvus ||) ; no. 21, NICEPHOR (Corbridge, on a shallow bowl with handles,¶ a type which is dated by other stamps found on it to the period 80-130) ; no. 24, PATERCLOS ** (Corbridge, Bitterne, eleven examples, with

* It might be argued that Corbridge, as well as Carlisle, may have been occupied before 79, and that, therefore, the evidence from it is inadmissible. But if such were the case, proof would have been found in the excavations carried on at Corbridge between 1906 and 1914.

† In several cases more than one potter of the same name may be distinguished. Where no mention of a second potter is made here, it may be regarded as reasonably certain that the stamps found at the sites quoted belong to the same potter as the Carlisle pieces. The doubtful cases are discussed below.

‡ *Ann. Soc. Arch. de Namur*, vol. iv, p. 132f.

§ This stamp is said to occur at Pompeii (*Corbridge Report*, 1910, p. 56), but I have failed to find evidence for this.

|| *Bull. Inst. Arch. Liégeois*, vol. xxv, p. 95f.

¶ *Corbridge Report*, 1911, fig. 9, no. 116.

** If this is the same potter as the Paterclus who made the bowl of shape 37 found at Silchester (May, *Pottery found at Silchester*, pl. XXVI, 42) he must have been still working in the second century. Mr. May's statement (*op. cit.*, p. 244) that the style of ornament of that bowl suggests a first century date, conflicts with all the evidence. Such a bowl has never been found in circumstances which exclude a second century date.

other potters of the late first and the early second centuries) ; no. 25, PATRICIVS (Haltwhistle, Camelon) ; no. 26, PONTVS (Corbridge, two examples) ; no. 27, PRIMVS (Camelon) ; no. 29, RVFINVS (Corbridge, Camelon) ; no. 30, SABINVS (Newstead) ; no. 32, SECVNDVS (Corbridge, Newstead) ; no. 33, SILVINVS (Bregenz Cellar, a find consisting of the latest South Gaulish pottery, A.D. 80-120 *) ; no. 35, VITALIS (Corbridge, Newstead).

The following potters may also be regarded as at least as late as the period of Agricola, though the evidence for them is not so clear.

No. 2, AVITVS. Three potters of this name may be distinguished (1) South Gaulish with stamps AVITIM, AVI,† AVITVS,‡ AVI·I·I·O,§ AVITIO,‖ (2) probably Lezoux, AVITVS FEC on rims of bowls shape 37 at Chesters and the Guildhall—the latter with decoration of the period 120-170, Zugmantel on shape 31 ; AVITVSF on rim of bowl of shape 37 at Corbridge and on shape 31 at Newstead in the Antonine period ; (3) AVITIF, Eschweilerhof, a potter of the Antonine period.¶ The stamp AVITVSFEC on shape 31 at Newstead has been assigned to the first century,** but this can hardly be correct in view of the pieces mentioned above at Chesters and the Guildhall. The Carlisle stamp probably belongs to the Lezoux potter, since it is found on shape 31 at Chesters, and the shape on which it occurs is characteristic of the second century.

No. 17, MARTIALIS. Two potters of this name may be distinguished : (1) South Gaulish †† ; (2) East Gaulish

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* *Jahrbuch Für Altertumskunde*, vol. vi (1912), p. 172f.

† Déchelette, i, 82.

‡ Déchelette, i, 253, no. 27.

§ B.M. *Cat.*, M6, p. 46, bowl, shape 29 from Torre Annunziata near Pompeii.

‖ Knorr on Risstissen in *Festschrift der k. Altertümer-Sammlung in Stuttgart* (1912), p. 57.

¶ Fölzer, *Die Bilderschüsseln der Ostgallischen Sigillata Manufakturen*, p. 43.

** J. Curle, *A Roman Frontier Fort*, p. 231.

†† Déchelette, *Vases ornés*, i, 84.

and ? Rheinzabern,* but it is not yet possible to distribute the various stamps between the two. The East Gaulish potter is dated to the period after 120 by the occurrence of his stamps at forts on the German 'Limes.' The fact that a stamp, of the same form as the Carlisle one, occurs at Corbridge on shape 31 (not in an early deposit) is good evidence for assigning the former to the East Gaulish potter, especially as all the British stamps which seem to be early have letters after the name (M, MA, OF, F or FEC).

No. 18, MEDETVS. The date of this potter is fixed to the end of the first and the beginning of the second century by a bowl, shape 29, at Kettering, somewhat in the style of the bowl of Ranto from Heddernheim,† which must be dated as late as 100 A.D. Another bowl found at Rheinzabern ‡ is of similar style and date. The stamp also occurs at Corbridge.

No. 20, MONTANVS. Two potters are to be distinguished: (1) South Gaulish §; (2) ? Heiligenberg. ‖ The Carlisle stamp belongs to the former, to whom may further be attributed two stamps at Corbridge MONTANVS and MONTANI. The former of these two stamps is found on two bowls of shape 29, which I lately saw in the Ransome collection at Hitchin and which are of South Gaulish origin.

No. 28, PVGNVS. There seems little evidence for assigning this potter to the first century. It is by no means certain that the South Gaulish stamp PVGMA ¶ belongs to him. A stamp of the same form as the Carlisle specimen, found at Chesters, must be dated in the second century, and the fact that almost all his stamps found in Britain are on shapes 31 or 33, suggests the same

* *O.R.L. Zugmantel*, p. 142.
† *Heddernheimer Mitteilungen*, iv, Taf. xxii.
‡ Ludowici, *Urnen-graeber*, p. 134.
§ Déchelette, *Vases ornés*, i, 84.
‖ Forrer, *Heiligenberg*, p. 234.
¶ Déchelette, vol. i, p. 84.

period. I know of no evidence to support Knorr's date (69-79 *).

There is no evidence by which the dates of the following five potters can be fixed more precisely than by assigning them to the Flavian period.

No. 1, ALBANVS. The Flavian date is proved by the occurrence of the stamp at Rottweil.

No. 3, CAIVS. There seem to be more than one potter of this name but it is impossible to distribute the different stamps. C·A·I·VS (reversed) occurs at Neuss and CAIVS "in tabella ansata," on an early type of shape 18/31 in the London Museum, seems to belong to the first century, while CAIOF on shape 33 at Corbridge and CAIVS on shape 31 at Bremenium are probably second century pieces. The stamp OFCAI is given in one published list of the Pan Rock Find, but it is extremely doubtful.†

No. 7, COELIVS. A Flavian date is shown by the stamps on shape 29 at Wroxeter and on this Carlisle piece, and on an early type of shape 33 at the Guildhall. The stamp also occurs at Neuss.

No. 22, NIGRINVS. It is uncertain whether this stamp, which is not found elsewhere in Britain, is to be attributed to the South Gaulish potter whose stamps read OF NIGRI, OF NGR and the like (? Niger). In any case the occurrence of both forms at Rottweil carry on the date after 74 A.D. but there is no evidence to date them after 80. The decoration of the Carlisle bowl with stamp NIGRINI,‡ however, suggests the reign of Domitian (A.D. 81-96) rather than that of Vespasian (A.D. 69-79), though little stress can be laid on this, since the period in question is so short.

No. 34, VIRTVS. Two potters are probably to be dis-

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* *Rottweil*, 1907, p. 65.

† R. Smith in *Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, xxi, p. 268f, xxii, p. 395f. Haverfield (in *Eph. Epigr.*, vol. ix, p. 675,) inclined to read OFLAI on one specimen which he saw.

‡ J. P. Bushe-Fox, in *Archaeologia*, vol. lxiv, pl. XXII, 4.

tinguished: (1) South Gaulish; (2) Uncertain locality. The Corbridge stamp VIRTVSFE belongs to the latter—a second century potter. The former, to whom the Carlisle stamps belong, is represented by bowls, shape 29 of Flavian date at Pompeii and Rottweil.

The attribution of the following stamps is uncertain:—No. 6, CIAN (? CIAMILVS). The stamps of the potter Giamilus occur on plain ware at Banassac. If he made the bowls found at Rottweil and Riegel with the stamp AGIAMILVS* he must have still been working in the reign of Domitian.

No. 9, COTT///F (reversed). The stamp COTTOF· (reversed) occurs at Colchester, and is perhaps to be assigned to the South Gaulish potter whose commonest stamp (OF COTTO) is found at Newstead. The penultimate letter, however, is doubtful. My copy of the stamp, as well as that made independently by the late Lieut. Newbold, has A (?), but the form COTTAF seems not to occur elsewhere as a potter's mark, though COTTOF is not uncommon. A reexamination of the stamp is desirable.

No. 15, JVLLINVS (?). This stamp is incomplete and hard to read. There were certainly more than one potter of this name, but the various stamps cannot be distributed. The Carlisle piece may well belong to the earlier, South Gaulish, potter whose stamps occur at Newstead—examples at Corbridge, South Shields, and Chesters probably belong to a second century Lezoux potter.†

No. 19, *a* and *b*. Of these two stamps 19*a* OMON is most probably a stamp of Mommo (*cf* OMOM and OMO ‡) whose stamp occurs at Corbridge. 19*b* OMOVMO (reading not quite certain) is doubtful. I have found no other example of this stamp and the vessel on which it occurred gave me the impression that it belonged to the second

* Knorr, *Rottweil*, 1907, pl. x, 1 and 2; xi, 5.
† Déchelette, vol. i, p. 277.
‡ CIL, xiii, 10010, 1374.

century. Mr. Newbold was inclined to regard it as shape 79 which is characteristic of the Antonine period.

Lastly, three stamps, no. 23 PASSIENVS (two examples) and no. 31 SCOTNI, would be more naturally expected on a site whose occupation began earlier than the governorship of Agricola. PASSIENVS is dated by Knorr * to the period 50-75, and all the evidence at present available agrees with this date. The stamp occurs, for example, only once at Rottweil; it is not found on any of the sites in Germany which were first occupied under Domitian; no examples of it on shape 37 are known; while the decoration of the bowls of shape 29 suggest at the latest an early Flavian date. Stamps of Passienus are very common in the south of England, e.g. I have notes of at least 48 examples in London, 9 at Silchester, 8 at Colchester, 6 at Cirencester, 4 at Wroxeter, 3 at Leicester; save for one, perhaps doubtful, example, at Lancaster, in the north they seem only to occur at Carlisle.

SCOTNI. Déchelette † has SCOTM but the presence of such stamps as SCOTNVS and SCOTNS at Colchester seem to prove the existence of the name Scotnus. Ritterling ‡ regards stamps of this form as belonging to the potter Scottius or Scotius,§ the most prolific of the earliest group of South Gaulish potters. His stamps occur very frequently at early sites in Germany on plain vessels resembling Arretine ware in form and technique, and on bowls whose decoration certainly belongs to the period A.D. 20-50. Ritterling believes that his activity ceased before the year 70. It is certainly true that no stamp of Scotius occurs later than this date and that all

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* *Risstissen*, p. 57.

† *Vases ornés*, i, 84.

‡ *Hofheim* (1912), p. 246.

§ The name is presumably a transliteration of the Greek Skotios (?=Niger) and Scotnus may represent Skoteinos (Nigrinus), another form of the same adjective; *cf.* the Arretine potters Xanthus (=Flavus), and Chrestus (=Utilis).

the Scotnus stamps except the Carlisle example seem to be contemporary with them. Whether then one or two potters are in question, one would have little hesitation in view of the large body of evidence, in dating him or them to the period 20-60 but for the presence of this Carlisle stamp, which cannot be so very early. In the circumstances it seems best to regard the Carlisle piece as a survival from an earlier period, such as would naturally occur from time to time, especially with so prolific a potter.

It may be noted that the other potters represented at Carlisle who can be shown to have begun to work very early can be traced throughout the period up to A.D. 80. Thus PRIMVS is found at Neuss (Sels collection) A.D. 20-40; Hofheim, 40-50; Wiesbaden (early stratum) 37-69; Wiesbaden (later stratum) 70.

SECVNDVS, at Neuss (Sels collection); Xanten (second period) 20-43; Hofheim; Wiesbaden (early stratum); Xanten (third period) 43-69; Rottweil, 74.

MOMMO at Neuss (Sels collection); Hofheim; Wiesbaden (early stratum); Pompeii, 60-75; Pompeii, 77-79.

To sum up, it appears that of the thirty-five potters in question, twenty-eight are shown by the evidence more or less conclusively to have been working in the time of Agricola, five are Flavian and yield at best only negative evidence of an occupation earlier than 79 and two seem to afford some positive evidence of this; but, of these, one must in any case be regarded as a survival, for all the other stanps of Scotius date from a time definitely earlier than Carlisle can have been occupied on any hypothesis.

The early decorated Samian has already been described by Mr. Bushe-Fox.* Naturally it is very hard to date bowls by the evidence of their styles within a period of no more than ten years, but a comparison of the bowls

* In *Archaeologia*, vol. lxiv, p. 295f.

from Carlisle illustrated by Mr. Bushe-Fox with those from Agricolan forts in the north of Britain, and with other groups of the same date such as the hoard found at Pompeii,* tends to show that none of the Carlisle pieces would naturally be dated earlier than the time of Agricola.

As far as I have been able to examine it, the Coarse Pottery seems to me to tell the same tale; perhaps one or two fragments would more naturally be attributed to the year 70 than the year 80, but the dating of such wares is not, and indeed is never likely to be, sufficiently accurate to make evidence drawn from it of value in a question involving so short a period.

The evidence of the pottery, while not in itself sufficient to admit of a definite conclusion on the question, suggests that the site was not occupied before Agricola's governorship, or at the worst does not conflict with other evidence on which such a date may be based.

* *Journal of Roman Studies*, vol. iv, p. 27f.

PROCEEDINGS.

Annual General Meeting, 1916.

On account of the continuance of war conditions, the summer meeting was again omitted in 1916, and the Society contented itself with two meetings only in the year, although this year was its jubilee. In the autumn, however, an opportunity was given for an excursion to the Roman Wall, which partly took the place of the decennial Pilgrimage, last held in 1906. The Society arranged to meet members of the British Association, then in session at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, on Thursday, September 7th, in a visit to Hexham and Chesters on the Wall. The Local Committee consisted of Professor Haverfield, Mrs. Hesketh Hodgson, Messrs. Robert Blair, F.S.A., J. H. Martindale, F.R.I.B.A., W. G. Collingwood and Edward Wilson. About eighty members of the Society joined a nearly equal number from the Association at Hexham Station, and proceeded by special train to Chollerford, whence they walked to Chesters; the day was fortunately one of bright autumn sunshine. Professor Haverfield took the party round the remains of Cilurnum, to the ruins of the Roman bridge, and through the Museum at Chesters, describing every point of general interest in his lucid and vigorous series of addresses. After luncheon at the "George," Chollerford, the party returned by special train to Hexham, where the Rev. Canon Savage, incumbent of Hexham, described the Abbey Church to members of the British Association and those of our Society who were not obliged to leave by the 3-26 train for Carlisle.

The warmest thanks are due to Mrs. Clayton of Chesters for permission to visit the site, and to Canon Savage, who had returned from a short holiday at a distance on the eve of his departure to the Mediterranean on important war-work, for the special purpose of meeting the visitors and relating the history of his famous church.

At seven o'clock members of the Society dined together at the "Crown and Mitre" hotel, Carlisle, adjourning to the Art Gallery at Tullie House for the general meeting at eight.

At the annual General Meeting, Professor Haverfield, president of the Society, in the chair, the minutes having been read, officers

for 1916-1917 were elected. By the death of Colonel Edwin Jackson and the resignation of the Rev. Joseph Whiteside on his removal to Norfolk, there were two vacancies on the Council, which were filled by the election of Mrs. Hesketh Hodgson and Mr. Daniel Scott. No further changes were made in the list of officers.

The following new members were elected :—Miss M. Ruth Ashby, 1 Burlington Place, Carlisle ; Miss M. Joyce Carr, Copse Hill, Scotby, Cumberland ; Prof. John Glaister, M.D., F.R.S.E., University, Glasgow ; Mr. Paul Brewis Redmayne, The Village House, Dalston, R.S.O., Cumberland ; Mr. W. B. Redmayne, The Village House, Dalston, R.S.O., Cumberland ; Mrs. Scott-Nicholson, Barn Close, Stanwix, Carlisle ; Dr. Joseph E. Spence, 7 Marlborough Gardens, Stanwix, Carlisle.

The Chairman of Council then read the Rules of the Society as revised by the Council. The revised Rules, as given on page iv of this volume, were adopted by the Society without discussion or dissent.

The illustrations to a Catalogue of Roman Pottery at Tullie House, by Messrs. Thomas May, F.S.A., and Linnæus E. Hope, F.L.S., were exhibited, and the catalogue submitted to the Society (Art. X).

A paper by the Rev. Cæsar Caine on " The Borough Court Rolls of Egremont " (Art. IV) had been posted to the Editor, but had not arrived in time for the meeting.

Professor Haverfield then gave a lecture (part of which was read by the Editor) on " The History of the Roman Wall," with many and interesting lantern illustrations, which were kindly shown by Mr. W. T. McIntire, to whom the thanks of the Society were returned.

Spring Meeting, 1917.

At the meeting of the Council, held at noon on April 26th, 1917, at Tullie House, Carlisle, it was reported that Dr. C. A. Parker attended the funeral of Lord Muncaster, one of the Patrons of the Society, as representative of the Society. It was proposed by Chancellor Prescott and agreed that the thanks of the Council be returned to Sir S. H. Scott, Bart., for his action in purchasing the Keld Chantry, and presenting it to the National Trust. Exchange of *Transactions* with the Glasgow Archaeological Society and the Carmarthenshire Antiquarian Society was agreed to : and it was announced that the Parish Register Section proposed printing the Skelton Registers to follow those of Barton.

The General Meeting was held in the Art Gallery, Tullie House, at 2-0 p.m., Mr. W. G. Collingwood in the chair. The following new members were elected :—Mr. Walter J. Chambers, 80 Bidston Road, Birkenhead * ; Mr. E. H. de Schmid, 21 Warwick Square, Carlisle ; the Rev. Allan M. McFarlan, Cumwhitton Vicarage * ; Glasgow University Library (per Messrs. J. MacLehose & Sons, 61 St. Vincent Street, Glasgow) ; the Rev. John D. Henderson, Croft House, Heads Nook ; Miss Greeba Jackson, Threlkeld Leys, Cockermouth ; Mr. T. P. Martin, Seaton Park, Workington ; Miss Mary Slee, 54 Lowther Street, Carlisle * ; Miss Evelyn Todd, 3 Chiswick Street, Carlisle ; Mr. Paul Vincent Kelly, 36 Kendal Street, Barrow-in-Furness ; Dr. Eldon Pratt, Irish Street, Whitehaven ; Mr. I. Auld, Whitehaven ; Mr. S. A. Moor, M.A., The Grammar School, Kendal.

The introductory pages of a paper on " The First Days of Carlisle," by Professor Haverfield and Mr. Donald Atkinson (Art. XII), were read by the Editor.

Professor Haverfield's manuscript of " Bronze Romano-British Fibulae in the Carlisle Museum " not having arrived, Mr. L. E. Hope, F.L.S. showed in the lantern and described illustrations of the subject.

Mr. Hope read the notes by Dr. Barnes on " Recent additions to the Chap-Books in the Jackson Library " (Art. VII), with lantern illustrations of some title-pages and woodcuts from the series.

Dr. C. A. Parker read a paper by himself and Mr. W. G. Collingwood entitled " A Reconsideration of the Gosforth Cross " (Art. IX), and a paper by himself on " Knitting Sticks " (Art. VIII), both with lantern illustrations.

Mr. J. H. Martindale, F.R.I.B.A., described, with the lantern, " Old oak recently restored to St. Mary's, Carlisle " (Art. VI), and read a paper on " A MS. of Dr. Todd's *Carlisle* " (Art. V).

The Editor summarised a paper by the Rev. Frederick W. Ragg on " Galloway Charters from Cardew and Newbigging " (Art. XI), and exhibited documents lent by Mr. N. N. Thompson of St. Bees, which will be printed in our next volume.

The thanks of the Society were accorded to Mr. W. T. McIntire for kindly taking charge of the lantern, which added considerably to the interest of the papers illustrated.

The meeting then adjourned to visit the remains of the old oak described by Mr. Martindale, at the warehouse adjoining his offices in Eaglesfield Abbey Rooms, Castle Street.

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* As from July 1st, 1917.

ADDENDA ANTIQUARIA.

Axe-hammer found near Silloth.

On September 8th, 1916, Mr. Anderson, on behalf of the North British Railway Company, exhibited at Tullie House a great axe-hammer found on the railway between Abbey Junction and Silloth. It is of whinstone, polished, weighing 8 lb. 9 oz. and measuring 10½ inches long, 4¾ inches thick, by 4 inches broad near the cutting edge, tapering to 3½ inches across the hole, the opening of which is 1⅜ inch in its narrowest diameter. A groove, 1¼ inch across its broadest part, runs on each side from the hole to the cutting edge, which has been slightly chipped from ancient times; the stone bears a few recent spade-marks, but is otherwise in fine condition. The hammer-end is flattened; the whole very carefully and beautifully worked into symmetry and finish, with elegant curves—a work, probably, of the Late Bronze Age.

The Hospital of St. Leonard, Kendal.

Dr. Barnes in his paper on "Local Leper Hospitals" (these *Transactions*, o.s., x, pp. 100-102) gives a short sketch of the history of this place, now Spital, about a mile from Kendal on the Appleby road. He mentions the Inq. p.m. of William de Lancastre III (for which see fuller quotation by the Rev. F. W. Ragg in N.S., x, p. 441); the statement (without reference) of Dugdale that by 29 Edward I the patronage had passed from Conishead Priory to Margaret de Ros; the Inq. p.m. of Sir William del Parr (1404), who acquired the advowson through his wife Elizabeth de Ros; and the valuation at the dissolution, after which it was granted to Alan Bellingham and Alan Wilson. Little else is on record in our local books; and in the hope that further details may be collected, the Editor is glad to print the following notes. The first is from Mr. Robert Blair, F.S.A., the next four from Mr. A. P. Brydson, and the remainder from Mr. John F. Curwen, F.S.A.

10 Martin v, 1427, non. Oct.

Kendal. To Abp. of York. Mandate to dispense John Wricht of Kirkeby, deacon in his 20th year, to be ordained priest & to receive & administer the poor hospital in Kendale which is of

the patronage of laymen & which by its original foundation, can only be granted to a priest or to one of such an age that he can be ordained priest within a year from his receiving it.—*Cal. of Papal Registers*, 8; Letters VII, 499.

Ing. p.m. of William de Ros of Kendale [castle, etc.] 3 Edward III, 1309: *inter alia* his property included the Castle of Kirkeby in Kendale with two granges and an oxhouse, the Mastership of the Hospital of St. Leonard by the Castle, which is in the donation of the said William, with two chaplains and four lepers.

Calendar of Patent Rolls, 11 Richard III, 1484.—Grant for life to William Dukett of the free chapel of St. Leonard by the town of Kirkby Kendall, co. Westd., diocese of York, void by resignation of Sir Thomas Fell, chaplain, and in the King's gift by reason of the minority of Thomas Parre, son and heir of William Parre, knight, deceased.

North Country Wills, Surtees Society, 1908, vol. cxvi.—24 April, 1433; will of Nicholas James, citizen and ironmonger of London; bequest for souls of his parent and children, for a chaplain to celebrate in the parish church of Kendal, and vestments to the altar of the hospital in Kendale.

Victoria History of Yorkshire, vol. iii, p. 45.—Thomas Magnus, archdeacon of the East Riding, [and also vicar of Kendal *inter alia* though it does not say so in the work quoted;—A.P.B.] about 1520: among his many preferments is the wardenship of St. Leonard's Hospital [*quaere* in York or Kendal?]. See *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, xxxv, 324.

From Kendal '*Notes and Queries*,' 1885 (137).—There is a piece of garden ground at the end of Far Cross Bank called "The Vineyard." How and when did the name originate?—S.E.

(142).—*A Vineyard in Kendal* 500 *years ago.* Your correspondent S.E. asks how and when the name "The Vineyard" originated which is still attached to some ground at Far Cross Bank? Field names are among the very best and most reliable materials of the Historiographer; and *The Annals of Kendal* has not overlooked this distinctive designation the *Vineyard*, at Far Cross Bank. If your readers will refer to the Annals at p. 81 they will find the almost certain connection of the Vineyard with the Monastic establishment St. Leonard's Hospital, now named Spital. One expressive field-name, like this, is worth more than twenty legends.—C.N.

(197).—The following from Hone's Year Book, 1826, may be useful to S.E.:—*Vineyards.* "Upon the authority of many

ancient writers Mr. Pigge [Dr. S. Pegge] affirmed the existence in early times of vineyards in England for the culture of grapes, and that they were introduced by the Romans about 280. The Hon. Daines Barrington denied it, and disputed Mr. Pigge's interpretation of some of the passages he had cited. Mr. Gough learnedly replied to Mr. Barrington, and adduced two instances from ancient writers who mentioned vineyards and orchards as distinct things." The Vineyard at Far Cross Bank, belonging to the Spital, seems to confirm the above, and may have been in use long before St. Leonard's Hospital.—J.M.

Gough's *British Topography*, i, 131 :—" A very curious paper on the introduction, progress, state and condition of the vine in Britain, by Mr. Pegge, is printed in the *Archaeologia*, i, 319. His opinion being controverted by Mr. Barrington in his *Observations on the Antient Statutes* occasioned a second discussion of the question whether England formerly produced any wine from grapes, by the same learned antiquary, *Archaeologia*, iii, 53, whose observations were considered and answered by Mr. Barrington, *ib.*, p. 67. Impartiality obliges me to say, that the honourable author has misled himself by a too hasty appeal to incompetent authorities."

The " C.N. " of the *Kendal Notes and Queries* was Cornelius Nicholson, whose *Annals of Kendal* contains the best account, hitherto published, of St. Leonard's Hospital.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE YEAR.

(*A.—Relating to the district*).

"The Ancient Cross Shafts at Bewcastle and Ruthwell," by Bishop Browne, reviewed by Professor Albert S. Cook (*Modern Language Notes*, Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, U.S.A., June, 1917, pp. 354-366).

"The Age of the Chief Intrusions of the Lake District," by J. F. N. Green, B.A., F.G.S. (*Proc. of the Geologists' Association*, xxviii, part 1, 1917; pp. 30, with maps).

"Older Carlisle," by Miss Mary Slee (Carlisle: Thurnam and Sons, J. C. Mason, and Brown & Brown, 1917; 2/6 net), includes twenty-four sketches by the author, with descriptions, of the more ancient features of the city, and is sold in aid of sailors and soldiers who have been permanently disabled in the war.

"A History of the Churches of the Rural Deanery of Whitehaven," by the Rev. Cæsar Caine, vicar of Cleator [and during 1917 chaplain to the Forces] (W. Halton & Sons, Whitehaven, 1917; 3/6 post free from the author) deals with the history, architecture, furniture, memorials, registers, and in some cases with the endowments of the churches; also notable persons connected with the rural deanery.

"St. Kentigern's, Crosthwaite; Notes for Visitors" [by the Rev. Canon Rawnsley, late vicar of Crosthwaite] (Carlisle: Thurnam & Sons, 1916; one penny).

"The Book of the Parish Church of Holy Trinity, Millom, Cumberland. Compiled by the Vicar thereof [the Rev. R. D. Ellwood] in 1917" (Dickinson & Son, Millom), a short history with illustrations of the effigies, font, etc., some of which are lent by this Society, and with an article on the advowson of Millom by the Rev. James Wilson, Litt.D.

"The Coucher Book of Furness Abbey; volume II. Printed from the original manuscript in the British Museum." Edited by John Brownbill, M.A. Part II (printed for the Chetham Society, 1916; vol. 76, new series). The first part of this work was noticed in these *Transactions* last year. The second part gives, on pages 513-581, a number of charters relating to Cumberland, all of very great interest.

"A Handbook to County Bibliography: being a bibliography of bibliographies relating to the Counties and Towns of Great Britain and Ireland;" by Arthur L. Humphries (187 Piccadilly, London, W., 1917; price 15/-). For Cumberland, see pp. 34-37, 324; for Westmorland, pp. 273-276.

"The Birth of Kendal: an attempt to elucidate its story," by John F. Curwen, F.S.A. (a lecture reported in *The Westmorland Gazette*, December 9th, 1916).

"Bells and Bell Lore: Church Bells of the Amounderness and the Archdeaconry of Lancaster," by T. Harrison Myres, late F.R.I.B.A. (Preston: Guardian Printing Works, 1916, pp. xii, 112; many illustrations) contains also notes on bells at Windermere, Kendal, Hawkshead, Cartmel and Grasmere.

"The Roman Road from Ribchester to Low Borrow Bridge, near Tebay," etc., by Percival Ross, A.M.I.C.E. (overprint from *The Bradford Antiquary*, vol. VI, part 19, new series, 1916, pp. 243-266, with map and illustrations).

(*B.—By members of the Society*).

"The Romano-British Site on Lowbury Hill, Berkshire," by Donald Atkinson, Research Fellow in Roman Archaeology, University College, Reading. With an Introduction by F. Haverfield, M.A., D.Litt., LL.D., Camden Professor of Ancient History in the University of Oxford (University College, Reading, 1916; price 5/- net; pp. viii, 124, with 20 plates and 19 illustrations in the text).

"Religion and Philosophy," by R. G. Collingwood, Fellow and Lecturer of Pembroke College, Oxford (Macmillan, 1916; pp. xii, 219) is described by the author as "an attempt to treat the Christian creed not as dogma but as a critical solution of a philosophical problem."

"The Likeness of King Elfwald: a study of Northumbria and Iona at the beginning of the Viking Age," by W. G. Collingwood (Kendal: Titus Wilson, 1917; 5/- net), is an attempt to reconstruct the history of the years 792-808 in the form of a story, the scene of which is laid partly in Carlisle and elsewhere in Cumberland, partly in the Hebrides and at York.

"Against a premature and inconclusive peace," by Canon Rawnsley (Carlisle: Thurnams, 1917; 6d.). An address on the third anniversary of the war.

In Memoriam.

Second Lieutenant JAMES HAMILTON, Border Regt., who was killed in France on November 5th, 1916, at the age of 37, had been a member of our Society since 1913. He had taken his B.A. at Durham University with a second class in classics, and after classical masterships at King's Hospital, Dublin, and Blackburn Grammar School, came to Heversham Grammar School in 1910. In 1915 he joined the Inns of Court O.T.C. and later obtained a commission in the Border Regiment, with which he was in France only a few weeks before his death.

The Very Rev. WILLIAM BARKER, D.D., Dean of Carlisle, who died on January 28th, 1917, aged 79, had graduated at Worcester College, Oxford, in 1861, and spent the greater part of his life in London, where he was rector of St. Marylebone, member of the London School Board, Rural Dean of St. Marylebone, Prebendary of St. Paul's, and Honorary Chaplain to the late King Edward. He became Dean of Carlisle in 1908 and a member of our Society in 1910.

Mr. HIPPOLYTE JEAN BLANC, a member since 1877, died in March, 1917, at the age of 73. He was a native of Edinburgh, an architect by profession, and was responsible for the work at Edinburgh Castle and a very large amount of work in Scotland. Although not frequently attending our meetings, he was deeply interested in archaeology and wrote many papers on ecclesiastical and castellated architecture in his own immediate neighbourhood. He was a most kind and genial guide, when describing an ancient building. He was educated at Heriot's School, and no doubt this early association with the old building kindled the future interest in Scottish mediaeval architecture. He was a member of the R.S.A., F.S.A.Scot., and F.R.I.B.A. [J.H.M.].

The Right Hon. LORD MUNCASTER, who died at Muncaster Castle on March 30th, 1917, had been a Patron of the Society for thirty-five years. He was elected a member in 1874, and served for some time on the Council. In 1881, by his kind

invitation, the Society visited Muncaster Castle, and in 1882 Lord Muncaster accepted the office of Patron, then created by a new rule of the Society. His active patronage of our work was shown especially in connection with the exploration of the Roman Fort at Hardknott in the years 1889-92, when he assisted us with his free permission to excavate and by defraying the expenses of the workmen employed. In 1893 he was elected F.S.A. Sir Josslyn Francis Pennington, bart., fifth baron Muncaster of the Irish creation of 1783, and created baron Muncaster in the peerage of the United Kingdom in 1898, was the last of the Penningtons of Muncaster. He was born on Christmas day, 1834, and educated at Eton; he served in the Crimea with the 90th Light Infantry, and later became captain in the Rifle Brigade, and hon. colonel of the 5th Battalion Border Regt. (Territorials). Succeeding to the Irish peerage in 1862, he was elected, as a Conservative, M.P. for West Cumberland, for which he sat until 1880; in 1885 he was returned for the Egremont division of the county, and kept the seat until 1892. Since 1876 he had been Lord Lieutenant of Cumberland. In 1863, he married Miss Constance L'Estrange; Lady Muncaster did not long survive him, dying on July 13th, aged 77.

The meeting of September 5th, 1912, when Major and Mrs. Fetherstonhaugh so kindly received us at their historic home, must be well remembered by many, and is recalled by the paper which Mrs. Fetherstonhaugh wrote in collaboration with Col. Haswell on the house and its owners (these *Transactions*, N.S., xiv, art. 6). On the outbreak of the war Major Fetherstonhaugh joined his regiment, the Seaforth Highlanders, and became colonel of its pioneer battalion, while Mrs. Fetherstonhaugh occupied herself, perhaps too strenuously, in war work. Both were struck down, about the same time, with serious illness; and Colonel Fetherstonhaugh was in London, only just recovering from trench-fever, at the time of Mrs. Fetherstonhaugh's death after a dangerous operation. She died at Cleveden Place, S.W. on May 11th, 1917.

Mr. James K. Harrison of Newby Bridge, who died on May 16th, 1917, was a member of the family of Lowfields, Kirkby Lonsdale, of whom the entries in the registers of that parish date back to 1685. He was born at Bury in 1836, educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, and called to the Bar at the Inner Temple in 1864. He came to Newby Bridge fifty years ago, and for

some time held a commission in the old Royal Westmorland Militia. In 1882 he was appointed a Commissioner of Taxes in North Lonsdale, and in 1892 a magistrate. Twenty-five years ago he was one of the founders of the Ultramarine Works at Backbarrow. He joined our Society in 1881, and was often seen at our meetings: some of us will not soon forget Mr. and the late Mrs. Harrison as among the pilgrims to the Hebrides in 1904.

Mr. Harold Bellamy Braithwaite was born in Kendal in 1867, a son of the late Alderman G. F. Braithwaite, and educated at Sedbergh School. After training as an engineer at Bristol, he returned to Kendal, and from 1901 to 1908 was engaged in the dyeing and cleaning business known as the Swan Company. He was interested in music, in fishing and cycling, and in field-antiquities, especially in connection with old footpaths and roads. He became a member of our Society in 1909, and died after a month's illness on May 21st, 1917.

Professor T. McKenny Hughes, M.A., F.R.S., F.G.S., F.S.A., Woodwardian Professor of Geology, died at Cambridge on June 9th, 1917, aged 85. He was born at Aberystwith of a distinguished family; his father became Bishop of St. Asaph and his brother is Bishop of Llandaff. He was educated at Leamington and Llandovery and at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he took his degree in 1857. In 1860 he went to Rome as secretary to the British Consul, and was left in charge of the Consulate in the eventful period of 1860-61. He then joined the Geological Survey and was at work on the borders of the Lake District from 1866 to 1873, when he succeeded Professor Sedgwick at Cambridge. He was elected F.R.S. in 1889 and received the Lyell Medal of the Geological Society in 1891; he was also Chevalier of the Italian Order of SS. Maurice and Lazarus. In 1882 he married Mary Caroline, daughter of the late Canon Weston of Crosby Ravensworth; it is well known how greatly Mrs. Hughes, inheriting her father's artistic and scientific talents, assisted her husband in his geological and archaeological researches, as in the papers contributed to these *Transactions*:—"Some Notes on Mound Opening, with a description of one recently explored on Sizergh Fell, Westmorland" (N.S., iv, p. 71); "On another Tumulus on Sizergh Fell" (N.S., iv, p. 201); Note on the supposed "burh" near Sizergh (N.S., iv, p. 338); "On an Ancient Enclosure and Interment on Heaves Fell" (N.S., xii, p. 397); "On some Interments near Hyning, Westmorland" (N.S., xii, p. 403)

"On the occurrence of a portion of the Skull and Antlers of Red-deer of exceptionally large size in the Estuary of the Gilpin" (N.S., xiii, p. 59).

Mr. JAMES GANDY GANDY, of Heaves, who died on July 7th, 1917, at the age of 67, was the last but one of the original members of our Society. From 1888 to 1907 he served the Society as one of its auditors; in 1907 he became a vice-president. After taking his B.A. degree from Christ Church, Oxford, he spent a life of benevolence and usefulness as a country gentleman in Westmorland; J.P. in 1878; county Alderman 1889, and Chairman of Standing Joint Committee 1908; High Sheriff 1892; taking high office in the Primrose League and among the Freemasons, and a governor of Heversham Grammar School for more than 30 years.

Mr. EDWIN HODGE BANKS, formerly of Highmoor, Wigton, was a member from 1885 and frequently seen in former years at our meetings. He was a captain in the Westmorland and Cumberland Yeomanry; J.P. and D.L., and High Sheriff in 1889; for many years chairman of the Wigton Local Board, member of the Wigton Board of Guardians and of the County Council. At his expense the interior of St. Mary's Church at Wigton was restored. In 1902 he was presented with his portrait in recognition of his public services; and described on that occasion by the Right Hon. the Speaker as "a man of few words, but of many deeds." In 1909 the Highmoor estates were broken up and Mr. Banks left Cumberland: he died at Brighton on August 20th, 1917.

Mr. ROBERT TAYLOR HEAPE of Healey Hall, Rochdale, who founded the Art Gallery at Rochdale with a gift worth £20,000, was a nephew of the late Mr. James Wrigley of Holbeck, and a frequent visitor to the Lake District. He was elected a member of our Society in 1916 and died last August at Harrogate.

Mr. THOMAS HESKETH HODGSON of Newby Grange, Crosby-on-Eden, J.P., F.S.A., who died on October 18th, 1917, was born in 1841 at Brinklow, Warwickshire (where his father, afterwards a canon of Carlisle, was rector), and was educated at Marlborough and at Jesus College, Cambridge. He was in the civil service at the Admiralty for some twenty years, but retired in 1880 to his home in Cumberland, and took up local work, including membership of the District Council, the Eden Fishery

Board, the Sea Fisheries Committee of the County Council, and other bodies, where his practical gifts, developed by his earlier training, stood him in good stead. Mr. Hodgson was elected a member of our Society in 1883, a member of Council in 1891, chairman of Council 1900, and president of the Society 1909. On his retirement from the presidency, owing to ill health, in 1915, he was elected an honorary member in recognition of the many and various services he had rendered to the Society. For our former series of Parish Register volumes he transcribed the Marriages of Crosby-on-Eden, 1665-1836, issued in 1912. To these *Transactions* he contributed many articles :—" A century of 'Paines,' from the 'Paine Book of Weathermelock'" (o.s. vii); "Notes on the Parish Registers of Crosby-on-Eden" (o.s. xi); "The Village Community in Cumberland as instanced at Halltown" (o.s. xii); "Cumberland and Westmorland extracts from the Register of the Privy Council in the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI," and a further series of the reign of Queen Mary (o.s. xiii). "A bone spear or harpoon head found near Crosby-on-Eden" (o.s. xiii); "The Bishop's or Baron's dyke, Crosby-on-Eden" (o.s. xiv); and many surveys on the Roman Wall and Vallum in the later volumes of the old series and earlier numbers of the new. To *Transactions* N.S. he contributed :—" Armorial stones at Raby Cote (vol. i); "An ancient village near Threlkeld" (with Mr. C. W. Dymond), and "The Military Road in Cumberland" (vol. ii); further extracts from the Privy Council Acts, 1558-1568 (vol. iii); "An ancient Palisade on Bowness Common" and notes on a stone axe from Brampton and on the Corduroy Road (vol. iv); "Notes of Excavations along the Roman Wall in Cumberland, 1894-1906," with Mrs. Hodgson (vol. vii); plan and description of Arthuret Knowes, and "Hallsteads," with Mrs. Hodgson (vol. viii); notes on Aikton Hall, etc. (vol. xiii); beside the surveys and explorations undertaken with the editor at Monk Foss and Lord's Island, and the valuable assistance given to the editor by preparing, with Mrs. Hodgson, the general index to *Transactions* from 1910 onwards. Indeed, Mr. Hodgson was always more ready to help other workers than to put forward his own knowledge and opinions, though he was a very sound scholar in general antiquarian subjects.

Professor Haverfield, our president, contributes the following brief account of one part of Mr. Hodgson's work for the Society which he desires to be understood as an estimate not of Mr. Hodgson's antiquarian work generally, but of his share in the

excavations on the Wall, carried out by himself, the late Professor Pelham, and Mr. R. P. L. Booker, in 1894 to 1904.

When, thanks to the encouragement and initiative of the late Chancellor Ferguson, the Cumberland Excavation Committee was formed in 1894, Mr. Hodgson was its chief local member, and during its ten years' activity, he and Mrs. Hodgson took a prominent part in its work; they gave up much time every summer to the supervision of the actual excavations, and they minutely and very carefully surveyed and planned the results. This activity produced not only a great saving of funds, which would otherwise have had to be spent on professional surveyors, but yielded also plans drawn with more understanding of the meaning of the excavations than a professional surveyor could have had; it is also largely due to Mr. and Mrs. Hodgson's energy that fairly full reports of the work could be issued punctually year by year—a feature which distinguishes these excavations from any others undertaken in the last few years on the Wall. Of the value of the work and the results obtained, this is not the place to speak. Thus much may however be stated here that the work had a special aim, somewhat distinct from that of other mural diggings, and was in the nature of pioneer enquiry; it presented problems which were both new and devoid of precedents to guide the workers; in consequence here and there mistakes may have been made, which our successors will find and indeed have found the more easy to correct. Unquestionably the help given unweariedly by Mr. and Mrs. Hodgson was of great value, and it is no small gain to have had on the Excavation Committee a Cumberland land-owner, who was so well-known in his own district, and who commanded so fully the confidence and respect of landlords, as well as of farmers and other occupiers of sites to be excavated. It was also a great thing to have among the antiquaries of Cumberland one who took so deep an interest in the excavation of the Wall; and it was a high privilege to those others who were, with him, engaged in the work, to have as colleague so genial and friendly a fellow-worker, ready at all moments to co-operate to the best of his ability, and ready also to smooth the way by most kindly and inexhaustible hospitality. If Mr. Hodgson was not in the strict technical sense of the term, a trained archaeologist, he was an excellent man of business, and all in all, his work shows how much really can be achieved by such a man, well educated, well read in antiquarian literature, and willing to spend any amount of trouble on the good work.

Sir JAMES WHITEHEAD, Bart., a member of our Society since 1884, was born at Sedbergh, a cousin of Mr. Titus Wilson, and his schoolfellow at Kendal in early years. James Whitehead began life as apprentice to a draper in Kendal; he went as a young man to Bradford and to London, where by 1881 he had made the fortune which enabled him to give largely, as for instance, £10,000 for scholarships at his old school in Appleby. In 1882 he was made Alderman of the City of London, in 1884 Sheriff, and in 1888 Lord Mayor. During his Mayoralty he visited Kendal in state to open the new Grammar School, and was made honorary freeman of the borough a little later. He also received the freedom of Appleby, where his earliest years were spent. In 1885 and 1886 he contested North Westmorland and was narrowly defeated by our late vice-president, the Hon. William Lowther, but he sat as Liberal M.P. for Leicester from 1892 to 1894, when a breakdown in health obliged him to retire and live a country life at Wilmington Manor, Dartford, Kent, where he died on October 20th, 1917, aged 84.

Mr. TITUS WILSON, whose death at Aynam Lodge, Kendal, on October 24th, 1917, deprives this Society of its oldest friend, was born in Kendal on August 6th, 1834. After apprenticeship to a local printer, he went for a time to Edinburgh and London, returning to Kendal to take up the printing and publishing business, acquired from Hudson and Nicholson, to which these *Transactions* and their former and present editors have owed so much. Mr. Wilson was a Town Councillor of Kendal from 1876 to 1907; Mayor of Kendal in 1887-8, at the time when his cousin Sir James Whitehead visited the town as Lord Mayor of London; and in 1889 he was elected Alderman, in 1890 J.P. for the Borough. He was also chairman of the Fire Brigade and Lighting, the Health and the Town Hall Improvement Committees, and in 1908 received a testimonial from the Police Force and Fire Brigade for his 31 years' work in their department. From the beginning of County Councils he was a Councillor, then Alderman, for Westmorland, until he retired in 1910. In his youth he was athletic, and interested in wrestling, cricket, fell-climbing and other forms of sport; he was a bell-ringer, warden of the belfry and warden of the parish church; a trustee or secretary to many charities and associations, including the Dog and Poultry Show; a governor of the Grammar School; a Freemason of long standing and high rank; a man of very varied interests and valued as a leader in all. But here he must be remembered chiefly as one of the

original members who established our Society at Penrith in 1866, the last to survive, and one of our best supporters. From an early date he began to take a part in its business, and in 1871 was appointed Honorary Secretary. For 31 years he attended every meeting, taking the responsibility of the arrangements; and in 1898 the members presented him with a silver salver "in grateful recognition of his long and valuable services," which were further marked by his election in 1911 as honorary member. Those, indeed, who worked with him knew best how much we are indebted to the kindly tact and business capacity which he never tired of spending for the Society's advancement. To these *Transactions* he contributed papers on the "Remains at Hugill near Windermere" (o.s. vi); "The Roman Road over Whinfell" (o.s. vii). Mr. Wilson took a constant interest in the preservation of the antiquities of his native town, and to him belongs the credit of noticing a fragment of an Anglian cross-shaft in the burial ground of the Unitarian Chapel. It had been placed there at the time of the restoration of the Parish Church in 1850, and at Mr. Wilson's request was graciously returned to the church in 1901.

Mr. Harvey Goodwin, J.P., D.L., a member of our Society since 1900 and frequently seen at our meetings, died on October 25th, 1917, aged 67 years. He was the eldest son of the famous Bishop of Carlisle, and after a successful business career in Manchester he bought Orton Hall, where he settled in 1899. Thenceforward in the intervals of travel abroad he occupied himself in the improvement of his gradually increasing estates by building and planting, and in breeding shorthorns and Highland cattle. He was High Sheriff in 1904, chairman of the Westmorland Conservative Association, and president of the Kendal, Shap and Appleby Agricultural Societies, and will be remembered for the great services he rendered to local life and agriculture, as well as for his own strong character and outstanding personality.

Mr. Edward Lamb Waugh of the Burroughs, Cockermouth, who died, aged 66, on October 27th, 1917, was the son of the late Edward Waugh, M.P. for Cockermouth, and a solicitor of very high standing in Cumberland. He had been a member of our Society since 1878, and was interested in the antiquities of his neighbourhood, as he showed especially in connection with the exploration of Papcastle Roman fort in 1912.

LIST OF MEMBERS

OF THE

CUMBERLAND AND WESTMORLAND ANTIQUARIAN AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

(COMPLETED TO OCTOBER 25TH, 1917).

HONORARY MEMBERS.

Greenwell, Rev. Canon William, M.A., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A. (Lon. and Scot.), Durham.

Maxwell, The Right Hon. Sir Herbert E., Bart., M.P., F.S.A., Monreith, Wigtownshire.

MEMBERS.

[NAMES IN SMALL CAPITALS SIGNIFY LIFE MEMBERS; AN ASTERISK INDICATES SUBSCRIBERS TO THE PARISH REGISTER SECTION; A DAGGER TO THE RESEARCH FUND; AND A PARALLEL TO THE RECORD PUBLICATION FUND].

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1913 Aberdeen University Library (P. J. Anderson, Librarian).
1911 Adair, Harold, Ringingstone, Egremont, Cumberland.
1911 Ainley, Rev. A., The Priory, St. Bees.
1878 Ainsworth, Sir J. S., Bart., M.P., Harecroft, Holmrook, Carnforth.
1874 Allison, Sir R. A., Scaleby Hall, Carlisle.*
1895 Ambleside Library, "Armitt Trust."
1915 Anderson, Dr. W. D., Chestnut Hill, Keswick.
1911 Anderson, Rev. T. W., The Vicarage, Temple Sowerby, Penrith.
1912 ANDERTON, Henry Ince, Palazzo Capponi, 28 Via Gino Capponi, Florence, Italy.
1899 Archibald, C. F., 2 Darnley Road, West Park, Leeds.
1879 Argles, Thomas Atkinson, *Treasurer* (1908), Eversley, Milnthorpe.
1916 Ashby, Miss M. Ruth, 1 Burlington Place, Carlisle.
1902 Atkinson, John R., Bank Field, Beckermet.
1907 Atkinson, William, The Rookery, Ulverston.
1917 Auden, Rev. Walter D., Bainbridge Road, Sedbergh.
1917 Auld, J. H., 12 Scotch Street, Whitehaven.

1913 Baddeley, Mrs. M. S., 2 Lake View Villas, Bowness-on-Windermere.
1911 Bailey, Charles Edwin, Howard Cottage, Warton, near Carnforth.
1913 Baily, Rev. G. H. J., Burneside Vicarage, Kendal.
1913 Baily, Mrs. G. H. J., Burneside Vicarage, Kendal.
1915 Banks, T. M., Heversham, Milnthorpe.
1875 Barnes, H., M.D., LL.D., F.R.S.E., *Vice-President* (1909), Portland Square, Carlisle.‖

1908 Barnes, T., M.A., Solicitor, Carlisle.
1907 Baron, Rev. R. R. N., Mouldron, Aske, Richmond, Yorkshire.
1885 Barrow-in-Furness Free Library.
1910 Barrow-in-Furness, The Rt. Rev. the Bishop of, The Abbey, Carlisle.
1913 Barrow Naturalists' Field Club (W. L. Page, Cavendish Street, Barrow).
1906 Bateson, Mrs., Upna Ghur, Lancaster.
1912 Baxter, Rev. William, Holm Cultram Rectory, Abbey Town, Carlisle.
1881 Beardsley, Richard Henry, Grange-over-Sands.
1912 Beckton, John Backhouse, 81 Castle Street, Carlisle.
1910 Beetham, Dr. Frederick, Clifton End, Manningham, Bradford.*
1894 Beevor, Miss, 9 Eden Mount, Stanwix, Carlisle.
1899 Bell, W. Heward, F.S.A., Cleeve House, Seend, Wilts.
1911 Bennett, Mrs., Whelpside, Hensingham, near Whitehaven.
1893 Benson, Mrs., Hyning, Milnthorpe.
1899 Bentinck, Lord Henry Cavendish, Underley Hall, Kirkby Lonsdale.
1889 Birkbeck, Robert, F.S.A., 20 Berkeley Square, London.
1914 Blackburn, Edward, Solicitor, Low Row, Carlisle.
1879 Blair, Robert, F.S.A., Harton Lodge, South Shields.
1902 Board of Education Library, Victoria and Albert Museum, Kensington, S.W.
1899 Booker, R.P. L., M.A., F.S.A., Eton College, Windsor.
1912 Borwick, Lady, Eden Lacy, Lazonby, R.S.O.
1877 Boston Free Library, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
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1913 Bouch, C. M. Lowther, St. Gabriel's House, St. Peter's, London Docks, E.
1914 Bouch, Rev. J. Lowther, Ackworth Rectory, Pontefract.*
1898 Bowman, A. N., Wreay Syke, Carlisle.
1908 Braithwaite, J. W., Market Square, Kirkby Stephen.
1916 Brasenose College Library, Oxford.
1908 Breeks, Mrs., Helbeck Hall, Brough, Kirkby Stephen.
1905 Brierley, Henry, *Member of Council* (1910), *Member of Parish Register Committee* (1911), 26 Swinley Road, Wigan.*
1910 Brierley, Mrs. H., 26 Swinley Road, Wigan.
1907 Briggs, William, The Vale, Lancaster.
1906 Broatch, J., Solicitor, Stanger Street, Keswick.
1888 Brougham, Lord, K.C.V.O., Brougham Hall, Penrith.
1914 Brown, James Walter, 35 Chiswick Street, Carlisle.
1904 Brown, William, F.S.A., The Old House, Sowerby, Thirsk.
1914 Browne, Thomas, Broadgate House, Windermere.
1914 Bruce, Mrs., Wansfell, Windermere.
1908 Brydson, A. P., M.A., Water Park, Greenodd, Ulverston.
1913 Buchanan, McIver, 28 Chepstow Villas, Bayswater, London, W.
1905 Buckwell, G. W., Board of Trade Surveyor's Office, 73 Robertson Street, Glasgow.
1913 Burlington, Joseph, B.A., Kingston Place, Fox Houses Road, Whitehaven.
1913 Burnett, Dr. J. R., Riverholme, Keswick.
1905 Burnett, James R., The Red Beeches, Scotby, Carlisle.
1915 Burns-Lindow, Samuel L., Greenlands, Holmrook, Carnforth.
1895 Butler, Wilson, B.A., Glebelands, Broughton-in-Furness.
1917 Byard, Rev. Canon, The Vicarage, Penrith.

1911 Caine, Rev. Cæsar, The Vicarage, Cleator, Cumberland.

1899 Calverley, Mrs., Eskdale, Cumberland.
1898 Campbell, Ven. Archdeacon, M.A., The Abbey, Carlisle.
1878 Carey, Thomas, 23 Curzon Street, Maryport.
1899 Carlisle Public Library (L. E. Hope, Tullie House)*
1913 Carlisle, Rosalind, Countess of, Boothby Manor House, Brampton.
1905 Carlisle, The Rt. Rev. the Lord Bishop of, *Patron* (1905), Rose Castle, Carlisle.*
1917 Carmichael, Rev. T. A., Bolton Vicarage, Penrith.
1916 Carr, Miss M. Joyce, Copse Hill, Scotby, Cumberland.
1897 Carr, Sidney Storey, 14 Percy Gardens, Tynemouth, Northumberland.
1892 Carruthers, Richard, Eden Grove, Carlisle.
1907 Cartmell, H. Studholme, Hayton, near Carlisle.*
1875 Cartmell, Joseph, C. E., Spring Field, Brigham, Cockermouth.
1911 Casson, T. E., Keswick School, Keswick.
1911 Castlehow, William, Watermillock, Penrith.
1892 Chadwick, S. J., F.S.A., Lyndhurst, Dewsbury.
1917 Chambers, Walter J., Ullcoats, Bidston Road, Oxton, Cheshire.
1899 Chance, F. W., Morton, Carlisle.
1915 Chippindall, Col. W. H., Fairbank Cottage, Kirkby Lonsdale.
1901 Chorley Free Public Library.
1899 Clark, John, Broughton-in-Furness.*
1893 Clarke, Rev. J. J., M.A., Selside Vicarage, Kendal.
1914 Clay, Miss Rotha Mary, Miller Bridge, Ambleside.
1903 Clayton, Mrs., Chesters, Humshaugh.
1910 Clegg, Lieut. E. C., The Border Regiment, The Castle, Carlisle.
1905 Cock, Rev. E. H., Winster, Windermere.
1910 Cole, T. E. Butler, Eskmeals House, Bootle.
1894 Collingwood, A. H., Town Clerk's Office, Carlisle.
1887 Collingwood, W. G., M.A., F.S.A., *Editor* (1900), and *Vice-President* (1915), Lanehead, Coniston.* † ||
1909 Collingwood, Robin G., M.A., Pembroke College, Oxford.
1883 Conder, Edward, F.S.A., Terry Bank, Old Town, Kirkby Lonsdale, and Conigree Court, Newent, Gloucester.
1913 Copeland, Rev. Wm., St. Stephen's Vicarage, Carlisle.
1903 Coutlhard, Dr., Aspatria.
1913 Cousins, H. M., M.Sc., County Secondary School, Brampton.
1913 Coutts, Hubert, R.I., Hammarbank, Windermere.
1913 Coutts, Mrs., Hammarbank, Windermere.
1884 Coward, John, Fountain Street, Ulverston.
1886 Cowper, H. S., F.S.A , *Vice-President* (1904), High House, Hawkshead.
1915 Crackenthorpe, Dayrell, Newbiggin Hall, Newbiggin, Carlisle.
1885 Creighton, Miss, Eden Mount, Stanwix, Carlisle.
1904 Crerar, Dr. J. W., 11, High Street, Maryport.
1886 Crewdson, F. W., *Auditor* (1906), Stricklandgate, Kendal.
1913 Crewdson, W. D., Helme Lodge, Kendal.
1901 Cropper, Charles J., Ellergreen, Kendal.
1904 Cumberland and Westmorland Association of London (C. Maugham, Hon. Sec., The Park, London Road, Forest Hill, London, S.E.).
1910 Cumpston, Miss, Barton Hall, Penrith.
1900 Curwen, A. D., Workington Hall, Workington.
1899 Curwen, Eldred Vincent, Withdeane Court, Brighton.
1887 Curwen, John F., F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary for Correspondence* (1911), Heversham, Westmorland.

1906 Curwen, Miss Patricia, Workington Rectory.

1914 Danson, F. C., F.S.A., Dry Close, Grasmere.
1915 Davies, Rev. W. A., Ponsonby Vicarage, Calderbridge, Carnforth.
1907 Dent, R. W., Flass House, Crosby Ravensworth, Shap.
1895 Devonshire, His Grace the Duke of, Devonshire House, Piccadilly, London, W.
1911 Dickinson, Frederick, The Towers, Cockermouth.
1886 Dixon, T., Rheda, Whitehaven.
1911 Dobson, William, Howgate, Brampton.
1913 Dodd, Miss E. L., London Road, Carlisle.
1894 Donald, Miss H. M., Stanwix, Carlisle.
1909 Donald, Mrs. Sydney, Quarry Hill, Mealsgate.
1903 Douglas, Rev. D. G., 24 Manor Road, Bexhill-on-Sea, Sussex.
1901 Doyle, Hugh, 4 Cringlethwaite Terrace, Egremont, R.S.O., Cumberland.
1903 Dyson, Mrs., 1 Hoad Terrace, Ulverston.*

1916 Edmonds, Charles, Dalzell Street, Moor Row, Cumberland.
1906 Edmondson, R. H., Brierswood, Sawrey, Windermere.
1917 Edmondson, Thomas, Carlton Terrace, Penrith.
1911 Elliott, George Wilson, Norcroft House, Penrith.
1912 Ellison, John, Holme Wood, Cockermouth.
1913 Evans, D. A. E., Manor House, St. Bees.

1911 Fair, Miss, The Ferns, Eskdale Green, Cumberland.
1913 Falcon, Mrs. Gordon, The Red House, Keswick.
1887 Farrer, William, Litt.D., *Vice-President* (1903), Hall Garth, Carnforth.
1915 Fawcitt, Dr. Richard, Park Stile, Broughton-in-Furness.
1912 Fell, Major J. P., Ulverston, Furness.
1912 Fendley, James, 1 Wellington Place, Botcherby.
1901 Ferguson, Major Spencer C., *Member of Council* (1905), 37 Lowther Street, Carlisle.* † ||
1910 Fisher, Joseph, Higham, Cockermouth.
1886 Fletcher, W. L., Stoneleigh, Workington.
1884 Ford, John Rawlinson, *Vice-President* (1914), Yealand Conyers, Carnforth.
1899 Ford, Rev. Harold D., Thursby Vicarage, Carlisle.
1907 Forster, Charles, Cawthorpe House, Bourne, Lincolnshire.* ||
1907 Forster, R. H., F.S.A., 2 Enmore Road, Putney, London, S.W.
1914 Foster, Allan, Swarthbeck Cottage, Pooley Bridge.
1904 Fothergill, Miss, Brownber Cottage, Ravenstonedale.
1911 Fox, P. H., M.A., 119B St. James' Court, Buckingham Gate, London, S.W.* ||
1913 Frankland, Edward Percy, B.A., Ph.D., M.Sc., Needlehouse, Ravenstonedale.

1912 Gandy, Henry, M.A., Skirsgill Park, Penrith.
1910 Garnett, Miss, Fairfield, Windermere.
1915 Garston, Miss Gwendolen, Bowston Bridge, Burneside, Kendal.
1889 Gatey, George, Gale Bank, Ambleside.
1907 Geddes, Miss Marion, Langrigge Howe, Windermere.
1877 Gibson, Miss M., Beckside House, Barbon.
1911 Gibson, William, Greyfell, Penrith.*

1885 Gilbanks, Rev. W. F., M.A., Great Orton, Carlisle.
1911 Gill, F. V., c/o Alfred Gill & Co., Colonial Buildings, 139 Sunbridge Road, Bradford.
1877 Gillbanks, Mrs., Clifton, Penrith.
1906 Gillbanks, Plaskett, Clifton, Penrith.
1877 Gillings, Mrs., Broughton-in-Furness.
1916 Glaister, Professor John, M.D., F.R.S.E., The University, Glasgow.*
1916 Glasgow University Library.
1911 Golland, Rev. C. E., M.A., The Vicarage, Glasson Dock, near Lancaster.
1910 Goodchild, Mrs. C. Waldon, Milburn, Newbiggin, Carlisle.
1914 Goodman, Rev. G. J., Ashmore, Brampton.
1913 Gordon, Mrs., 9 Scotch Street, Whitehaven.
1904 Gordon, Rev. C. J., Great Salkeld, Penrith.
1909 Graham, Hartley, The Larches, Penrith.
1899 Graham, T. H. B., *Member of Council* (1912), Edmond Castle, Carlisle, and Oxford and Cambridge Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*
1900 Grainger, Francis, Southerfield, Abbey Town, by Carlisle.
1893 Green, Rev. R. S. G., M.A., Wetheral Rectory, Carlisle.
1891 Greenop, Joseph, 8 William Street, Workington.
1877 Greenwood, R. H., *Auditor* (1898), Bankfield, Kendal.
1901 Greg, Major John, Escowbeck, Caton, Lancaster.
1913 Grice, Richard, Cross House, Bootle, Cumberland.
1913 Groves, H. L., Gilpin Lodge, Windermere.
1913 Groves, Mrs., Gilpin Lodge, Windermere.
1901 Groves, W. G., Holehird, Windermere.
1893 Guildhall Library, London (Bernard Kettle, Librarian).*

1912 Hale, Rev. Bernard G. R., M.A., Edenhall Rectory, Langwathby.
1878 Hargreaves, J. E., Shortlands, Kendal.
1912 Harris, Major Charles Joseph, R.G.A., 14 Scotch Street, Whitehaven.
1912 Harrison, C. H., North Lodge, Cockermouth.
1916 Harrison, J. R., Scalesceugh, by Carlisle.
1904 Harrison, Miss M. E., The Glen, Far Sawrey, Windermere.
1894 Harrison, Rev. D., M.A., Dunthwaite, Cockermouth.
1916 Hartley, E. L., 1 Paper Buildings, Temple, London.
1911 Hasell, Mrs., Dalemain, Penrith.
1912 Haslam, Rev. J. P., M.A., The Vicarage, Crosby Ravensworth.
1893 Haswell, Colonel John Francis, M.D., C.M., *Hon. Sec. and Treasurer Parish Register Section* (1911), *and Vice-President* (1913), The Friarage, Penrith.*
1914 Harvard College Library, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.
1916 Hatjidakis, Prof. Dr., New Phaleron, Greece.
1890 Haverfield, Prof. F., M.A., LL.D., D.Litt., F.S.A., Hon. F.S.A.Scot., F.B.A., *President* (1915), Winshields, Headington Hill, Oxford.
1915 Haythornthwaite, Dr. E. Parker, Rowrah House, *via* Cockermouth.
1915 Hedley, Oswald, Briery Close, Ambleside.
1908 Heelis, E. A., Bongate Cross, Appleby.
1908 Heelis, Mrs. E. A., Bongate Cross, Appleby.
1898 Heelis, Rev. A. J., M.A., Brougham Rectory, Penrith.
1892 Hellon, Robert, Whinthwaite, Seascale, Carnforth.
1917 Henderson, Rev. John D., Croft House, Heads Nook, Carlisle.
1910 Henley, Lady Dorothy, 49 Montagu Square, London.*
1881 Hetherington, J. Newby, F.R.G.S., 16 Lansdowne Crescent, Kensington Park, London, W.

1890 Hewitson, William, Appleby.
1885 Hibbert, Percy J., Hampsfield, Grange-over-Sands.* ||
1889 Higginson, H., 3 Warwick Road, Carlisle.
1909 Highmoor, J. R., The Chantry, Ravenstonedale.
1889 Hinds, James P., 25 Howard Place, Carlisle.
1889 Hinds, Miss, 25 Howard Place, Carlisle.
1899 Hobson, William Harrison, Maryport.
1915 Hodgkin, T. Edward, Old Ridley, Stocksfield, Northumberland.
1906 Hodgson, C. Courtenay, The Courts, Carlisle.*
1914 Hodgson, J., Junr., Merivale, Yelverton, S. Devon.*
1914 Hodgson, Mrs. Alice, Western Lodge, Workington.
1895 Hodgson, Mrs. Hesketh, *Member of Council* (1916), Newby Grange, Crosby-on-Eden, Carlisle.
1901 Holmes, W. A., M.D., 50 Hartington Street, Barrow.
1895 Holt, Miss E. G., Sudley, Mossley Hill, Liverpool.†
1903 Holt, Lady, Blackwell, Windermere.
1913 Hope, Joseph Fearon, The Old Bank, Appleby.
1912 Hornby, Rev. Wm., Stanwix Vicarage, Carlisle.
1912 Horrocks, Mrs., Salkeld Hall, Langwathby, near Penrith.
1882 Hothfield, Lord, *Patron* (1882), Appleby Castle.
1913 Hough, C. H., White Craggs, Ambleside.
1898 Hough, Kighley J., 14 Portland Square, Carlisle.
1904 Houlgate, John William, 5 Threadneedle Street, London.
1909 Howard, Philip J. C., Corby Castle, Carlisle.
1914 Huntrods, Joseph, "Alameda," Whitehaven Road, Workington.
1894 Huddart, A., 9 Lowther Street, Whitehaven.
1895 Hudleston, Ferdinand, Hutton John, Penrith.* ||
1888 Hudson, Rev. Canon, Crosby House, Carlisle.
1902 Hudson, Rev. J. Clare, Thornton Vicarage, Horncastle.
1905 Hughes, T. Cann, M.A., F.S.A., 78 Church Street, Lancaster.
1913 Hutchinson, Sir Joseph, Lorton Hall, Cockermouth.

1914 Inglis, Colonel H. A., Green Lane, Dalston, Cumberland.
1912 Irwin, Wilfred, Derwent Lodge, Cockermouth.

1911 Jackson, Mrs. Edwin, Threlkeld Leys, Cockermouth.
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	£	s.	d.
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